00041578

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

00041578

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 27 November, 2018

Muslim & the modern people Vol II

God

954.02.

Lin1 MUS 1573

SHRINIVAS PANDIT PRATINIDHI

B 687

954.0
K11 His
41578

TO THE MARATHA PEOPLE
THIS WORK
IS
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

41578
ac

Vol. 2

PREFACE TO SECOND VOLUME

A FEW words only are needed by way of introduction the Second volume.

The main authorities for the lives of Sambhaji and ajaram are the Chitnis Bakhar, the Shedgavkar Bakhar, afi Khan, the Musulman works translated by Scott and own as Scott's Deccan, Orme's Fragments and the arasnis Papers. I must also express my grateful acnowledgments to Professor Sarkar's History of Aurangzeb, ol. IV, and to Mr. Irvine's translation of the Storia do ogor. For my account of the Maratha wars against the ortuguese, my warmest thanks are due to the Goa Governent, who with admirable generosity and kindness sent me quantity of specially chosen books and papers on the bject.

The authorities for the reign of Shahu are the Chitnis akhar, the Peshwa and Shedgavkar Bakhars, the Siyar-l-Mutakherin, the Parasnis Papers, Malleson's History of he French in India, Orme, and, above all, Mr. Sardesai's iyasat, Vol. III. The merits of this latter book are so reat, its learning so profound, its style so clear, that I n only compare it with Voltaire's Siècle de Louis XIV. r. Sardesai's kindness, moreover, was equal to his erudition. Hearing that I was engaged in writing the present work, ie placed at my disposal the proof sheets of his unpublished hird volume. I can only say that words fail me when I y to express my appreciation of his noble disinterestedness.

I am also greatly obliged to the Chief of Ichalkaranji, r. Dayagude, Chief karbhari of Bhor and Mr. Mahableshwar-

kar of the Bombay Educational Department for the assistan which they have freely given me.

Lastly, I have to thank Mr. C. N. Seddon, I. C. S., for translations of Persian letters, a task which his profou knowledge of the Persian language rendered him eminent competent to perform.

C. A. K.

CHAPTER XXIV

SAMBHAJI'S ACCESSION

A. D. 1680 TO 1682

SAMBHAJI seems to have returned to Panhala at once after the burning of Shivaji's body*. On his departure from Raygad, Soyarabai, a daughter of the great house of Shirke and the mother of Rajaram, then a youth in his nineteenth year, began to plot to secure for her son the vacant throne. During her husband's lifetime she and her kinsmen had used their influence to remove from the succession Sambhaji, as one unfitted by his evil habits and proved treachery to rule over the Marathas. After the king's death she took more vigorous action. She worked on the minds of her late husband's advisers and nobles by stating that Shivaji had before his death made an oral will, wherein he had bequeathed to Rajaram the kingdom and had ordered Sambhaji's imprisonment. During the early years of Rajaram's reign, she would help him to govern the kingdom and would be aided by the advice of the Asht Pradhan or eight ministers. Having thus tempted the ministers with the increase of power that such a plan would give them, she next roused their fears by painting in vivid colours the great dangers that hung over the kingdom. Aurangzib had heard with infinite satisfaction the news of the great king's death and was about to lead into the Deccan the whole power of Hindustan and subdue at once Maharashtra, Golconda and Bijapur. In such troubled times was not

* The Chitnis Bakhar relates that Shivaji's death was hidden from Sambhaji. The local tradition at Raygad, which I have followed in Vol. I of this History, is that Sambhaji heard the news and rode with all speed to Raygad, arriving there too late to see his father alive.

the first matter for consideration the welfare of the State, rather than the claims of a prince whose past conduct shewed his unfitness to cope with the coming danger? So deep, however, was the attachment felt by the Marāṭha nobles and the ministers to the house of Bhosle, that it was only with great reluctance and grave misgivings that they joined in the plot. Had it been executed with speed and secrecy it might have succeeded; but the lack of goodwill in most of the conspirators foredoomed it to failure. Instead of at once seizing Sambhaji's person, they wrote a number of letters to various commanders to inform them of the queen's decision and to direct them to move their troops to favourable situations. The late king's secretary, Balaji Avaji, was ordered to write the letters. He refused; and he was with difficulty induced to consent to his son Avaji writing them.

Among the letters sent was one to Janardanpant Hanmante, Raghunath Hanmante's brother, who had distinguished himself in the Carnatic, to move his troops from Kolhapur and to attack Panhala. Kanhoji Bhadwalkar, the commandant of Raygad, closed the fort gates, and a force of ten thousand men was collected at Pachad, the village below Raygad, wherein Jijabai had passed several years. Lastly letters were sent to Bahirji Ingle, Somaji Banki and Hiroji Farzand, the principal officers at Panhala, calling upon them to seize the prince's person. But by this time the news of the plot had reached Sambhaji's ears. The common soldiers at Panhala were devoted to the great king's son. At his orders they arrested first the messenger Khandoji Naik, who had carried the letters, and then Ingle, Banki and Hiroji Farzand. The prisoners were confronted and questioned. They confessed, and were at once put in chains. Hiroji Farzand was so fortunate as to break from his cell and escape to Chiplun with a bag of jewelry. He was, however, taken later and again imprisoned. The others were tried and convicted. Banki was afterwards thrown from the top of Raygad. Suryaji Kank, a kinsman

of Yesaji Kank, the friend of Shivaji's childhood, was beheaded on the spot. Sambhaji was now in undisputed possession of the fortress and rapidly put it in a state of defence. This done, he awaited with confidence the arrival of Janardanpant Hanmante. In the civil war that general shewed none of the talents that had earned for him in the Carnatic the great king's commendation. He moved so slowly that Sambhaji's preparations had been completed several days before his arrival. Thankful perhaps for an excuse to take no active steps against the son of his late sovereign, he arranged his troops so as to invest Panhala and returned to Kolhapur. To adopt such a course was to court disaster. In the general's absence, the prince won over his subordinates. The bulk of the army declared for him. He crowned his success by marching at night with the Panhala garrison and seizing Janardanpant Hanmante in his headquarters at Kolhapur. On hearing the news, the Raygad conspirators lost their heads and vied with each other in their haste to betray the plot. Sambhaji marched straight on Raygad. There Sarnobat and Yesaji Kank declared for him and opened the postern gate for Sambhaji to enter. He arrested the commandant, Kanhoji Bhadwalkar, who at once changed sides. Moro Pingle the Peshwa and Annaji Dattu the Pant Sachiv were arrested and their houses sacked. At the same time the force at Pachad declared for Sambhaji and confined Mal Savant the general in command. He was beheaded with ten to fifteen of his staff, under Sambhaji's orders. The garrison of Raygad was changed and Rajaram taken into custody. So far Sambhaji had done no more than the heinousness of the crime demanded. His further conduct was prompted by cruelty and spite. In a storm of passion he entered Soyarabai's private room and in the presence of his soldiers and her maid-servants charged her with having poisoned Shivaji to secure the throne for her son. He then had some bricks removed from the wall of her house and had her built in, in the same way that the King

of Bijapur had walled in his own grandfather Shahaji. The aperture left by a single unplaced brick gave her air to breathe. Milk was the only food allowed her. After three days she died and her body was burnt close to where Shivaji's had been. Two hundred other Maratha nobles suspected of participation in the plot were either beheaded or thrown from the edge of Raygad into the Konkan.

The prince, busy in establishing his authority over the whole kingdom, did not celebrate his accession until the 10th of the bright half of Magh, Shake 1602 (February 1681). After the date had been pronounced auspicious by the royal astrologers, Sambhaji went in person to Parali fort to invite to the ceremony his father's friend, Ramdas. But the old saint had heard of the cruelties that had marked his seizure of power, and to mark his displeasure at such conduct in a son of the great king, pleaded ill-health and refused to see the prince. His disciples, however, begged him to send Sambhaji a letter of advice, such as he had in the early days of their friendship sent once or twice to Shivaji. Ramdas consented and sent Sambhaji the following finely worded letter:—

> "Be always on your guard and never off your guard. Control your temper and be tender and kind towards others. Forgive your subjects their faults and bind them to your person by making them happy. The happier they are, the easier will be your task. If they are against you, your task will be hard. If you and your nobles fall out, your enemies will profit. Let all of you live in unity. Seek out your Musulman enemies and remove them from your path. Create fear in others not by your cruelty but by your valour. Otherwise your kingdom will be in danger. Deal with each difficulty as it arises. Keep your anger under control or at least do not betray it in the presence of others. Make your subjects your friends. Let them love rather than fear you. Make the people one; fill their minds with the single thought of resisting the

Mlenccha. Guard what you already have; add to it by your own exertions and so extend on all sides the Kingdom of Maharashtra. Respect yourself and wear the sword of ambition. That way lies the path to success. Bear King Shivaji in mind. Deem your life a worthless trifle and try to live by your fame both in this world and the next for ever. Keep before your eyes the image of Shivaji. Think always of his valour and his deeds. Remember always what he did in battle and how he acted towards his friends. Give up sloth and love of ease. Keep before your eyes a certain goal and strive to win it. Never forget how Shivaji won the kingdom. If you call yourself a man, try and do better even than he did." *

Sambhaji took in excellent part the advice contained in Ramdas' letter. He gave the messenger a gift of clothes and a verbal message for the saint that he would act as he directed. Later he sent Ramdas a written invitation to the coronation and the old man, flattered at the prince's reply, accepted it. He did not, however, go in person to Raygad but sent a disciple Divakarbhat † to represent him. The ceremonial adopted for Sambhaji's coronation resembled that of Shivaji. The king weighed himself against gold, silver, brass, iron, cotton, salt, nuts, cocoanuts, molasses and sugar and distributed them as gifts. Royal salutes were fired from every fort in the kingdom. Moro Pingle, Yesaji Farzand, Somaji Farzand and other conspirators who had not been executed, were released. Forty thousand Brahmans were given food and money; and so great was the crush of spectators that many were trampled under foot and killed. But in spite of the seeming splendour of the festival, there were not wanting — so the Maratha chroniclers relate — clear signs of divine displeasure. The sun hid its face behind a bank of clouds and never once

* Ramdas Charitra.

† *Ibid*. Divakar Gosavi or Divakarbhat looked after Ramdas' affairs. He came from Mahableshwar, where his descendants still live.

lent its rays to brighten the spectacle. On leaving his throne the King drove out to kill the Kalpurusha or god of death; as he did so, the pole of his carriage broke. Sambhaji, undismayed, had the pole mended and ended the coronation to the satisfaction of the nobles, by increasing the tainats or official retinues of subhedars, mujumdars and similar officers of his government.*

The first campaign of the new king was in his father's best manner. In May, 1680, the emperor had sent for the second time Khan Jehan, formerly known as Bahadur Khan Koka, as viceroy to the Deccan. So incompetent had been his first tenure of office that he had in 1672 allowed Shivaji to extort a ransom from Golconda.† Anxious to justify the emperor's indulgence, Khan Jehan attacked Ahivant, a fort in the Chandod range, taken by Shivaji some months before. He failed in the attempt. The lateness of the season prevented further hostilities, but Sambhaji sent the Moghul general a challenge to meet him in the open field after the rains had abated. At the Dasara festival, early in October, 1680, the Maratha horse in three divisions moved out to make good the Maratha sovereign's threat.‡ One division moved towards Surat, one into Khandesh, a third skirmished with the imperial troops near Khan Jehan's camp at Aurangabad. These operations however were subordinate to Sambhaji's design of celebrating his accession by the sack of a great Moghul city. Immediately after his coronation, the King collected the three divisions and set out as if to plunder the Berar province. Suddenly turning back, he led his troops by forced marches to Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh and the wealthiest town in the Deccan viceroyalty. In the middle of February, 1681,§ the Maratha horse were visible

* Chitnis Bakhar.

† See vol. I., p. 237.

‡ Sarkar's Aurangzib, vol. IV., p. 244.

§ Khafi Khan gives the date as the 15th February. Mr. Sirkar puts the date earlier in the end of January. That, however, clashes with the date of the coronation.

on the sky line to the sentries on the walls. The commandant whose garrison numbered only 250, dared not face the Maratha army and withdrew into the citadel. There he gallantly resisted all attempts to scale it. But the town and its ample suburbs of Bahadurpur and Hasanpur lay at the king's mercy. So unexpected was the attack, that the merchants had no time to flee with their jewels and money. A vast booty fell into the hands of the Marathas, who destroyed all that they could not conveniently carry off. Picked runners had carried the news of this disaster to Khan Jehan, who hastened to the relief of the plundered town. In twenty-four hours he covered three days' marches and so exhausted his forces, that he was compelled to rest it at Fardapur, sixty-four miles from Burhanpur. Profiting by his inactivity, the Maratha divisions retreated through Chopra to Salher. The Maratha raid and the inefficiency of Khan Jehan's pursuit so enraged the citizens of Burhanpur, that they wrote to the emperor an account of their misfortunes and to emphasise it they discontinued the mention of his name in their Friday prayers; thus threatening to renounce their allegiance to a sovereign who did so little to protect them. Aurangzib, deeply affected by the letter, recalled Khan Jehan and resolved to go in person to the Deccan.

The real cause, however, of this strange resolve must be sought in Northern India. Raja Jaswant Sing, the ruler of Jodhpur, had during his life been one of the chief pillars of the Moghul throne. In 1679 A.D. the emperor had sent him with reinforcements to Kabul. Shortly after reaching it, the Raja died. The Rajput nobles in his train sent to the emperor word of the prince's death and asked leave to take his sons back to Marwar. In reply Aurangzib ordered that they should be sent to his court, where they would be suitably cared for. The Rajput nobles rightly guessed this order to mean that the boys would be brougt up as Musulmans. Exasperated at the emperor's bigotry and ingratitude, they resolved to disobey

the Moghul command. They substituted for the young princes two boys of the same age and left them at Delhi. The real princes with their mothers, disguised in men's clothes, they took to Rajputana and appealed for protection to the honour of Mewar. The Rana of Udaipur had given a reluctant submission to the emperor Jahangir. His successor welcomed gladly a pretext to throw off the yoke of the hated Moghul; and receiving the princes with all honour he gave to the eldest, Ajit Sing, the hand of his daughter. The emperor sent his son, Prince Azam Shah, to invade Rajputana and followed later with his son Akbar. The Rajputs shewed equal skill in battle and intrigue. They destroyed several Moghul battalions in the Aravali passes and seduced prince Akbar, Aurangzib's fourth and favourite son, by promising to place on his head the crown of Delhi. The plot was foiled by the skill and cunning of the emperor, who contrived that a letter written by him to prince Akbar should fall into the hands of his Rajput allies. In it Aurangzib thanked the prince for having won over the Rajputs and directed him to crown his services by bringing them to a spot where they could be mown down by the cannon of both armies!*

The Rajput chief believed the lying letter and deserted the prince. Akbar, fleeing to the south with four hundred followers, made his way to Paligad, twenty-five miles from Raygad (May 28th 1681). There he appealed for help and friendship to the Maratha king.† Sambhaji welcomed the royal exile and announced that he would himself seat him on the imperial throne. He gave him a residence near Dhodsa and called it Padshapur. The honours that he paid him were remarkable. He sent his chief officers with a thousand gold mohurs, by way of homage, and publicly declared that he would always stand in the new emperor's presence. Encouraged by their king, the whole countryside did the exile reverence and by August 1680 Akbar had in

* Khafi Khan.

† See Appendix for Akbar's letter to Sambhaji.

1681

his own service no less than five thousand Maratha cavalry. Dreading this alliance of Akbar and Sambhaji, Aurangzib hastily patched up a peace with the Rajputs and entered the Deccan, which he was destined never again to leave.

The arrival, however, of Akbar suggested to the supporters of Soyarabai a way of avenging their former discomfiture. Rajaram was too young to be set up as a pretender to the throne. Annaji Dattu and Soyarabai's kinsmen, of the great house of Shirke, saw, as they thought, in prince Akbar a fitting tool for their intended treason. They offered him the sovereignty of the Maratha Deccan, reserving only a small province as a provision for Rajaram. But Akbar scorned to betray the prince, who had befriended him. He disclosed to Sambhaji the plot and the names of the plotters. The Maratha king took a fearful vengeance. He caused to be trampled under the feet of elephants, Shivaji's private secretary Balaji Avaji Chitnis* and his eldest son for whom the father in vain offered his own life. He executed several other members of Balaji Chitnis' family, Hiroji Farzand and Annaji Dattu the Pant Sachiv; and he proscribed the whole clan of the Shirkes. So many of them were tracked down and massacred by Sambhaji's sepoys, that the word "Shirkan" or "massacre of the Shirkes" has survived to this day in the Marathi language.

If prince Akbar really dreamed that the resources of Sambhaji were enough to enable him to overthrow the emperor, the king himself must have known that such dreams came through the ivory gate. In any such attempt he would have been faced by the entire power of Hindustan, the fleets of Janjira and probably the active enmity of Golconda, Bijapur and Portugal. He therefore informed prince Akbar that before he could march northwards, he must clear his left flank by the conquest of Janjira. Ever since Sambhaji's accession there had been desultory warfare between the Abyssinian garrison of the island and the Marathas. The English, fearing for their factory at Surat,

* For the Chitnis family tree see Appendix II to this chapter.

gave to the Abyssinian fleet access to their Bombay harbour, although to Sambhaji they professed neutrality. The Sidis had in Shivaji's time taken Undheri* outside Bombay. In May 1681 a force of 200 Marathas had tried to retake the island but were driven out with great loss. The Abyssinian leaders were so elated at this success that they plundered with perfect impartiality the lands of the English, Marathas and Portuguese alike. In December, 1681, Sambhaji came to the shore opposite Janjira with twenty thousand men and a powerful siege train. His guns daily battered down the eastern defences of Janjira while he himself sought, as Alexander had done at Tyre, to build a mole from the mainland to the island. At the same time, one of his officers, Kondaji Farzand, pretended to desert to Janjira with the intention of blowing up the Sidis' magazine on the day fixed by Sambhaji for the assault. The Abyssinians believed Kondaji's tale and welcomed the fugitive. Emboldened by his welcome, he bought some women with whose aid he hoped to corrupt the garrison. These he distributed among the chief officers of Janjira. Unhappily for Kondaji, one of the women had been at some former time the mistress of the officer who now bought her. He extracted from her the story of Kondaji's plot. It was discovered and stamped out with merciless rigour. Farzand was beheaded; his accomplices were flung into the sea and drowned.

On the failure of Kondaji Farzand's plot, Sambhaji renewed his efforts to build the mole and gathered for that purpose no less than fifty thousand workmen. But the Abyssinians held the command of the sea and hampered the work, just as the Tyrian ships had hampered the work of Alexander. Sambhaji, moreover, had to leave the coast to face a Moghul force under Hussein Ali Khan, that was ravaging the Northern Konkan. He drove the Moghuls back to Ahmadnagar, whence they had issued, but by the time he had gained this success the monsoon of 1682 had

* See vol. I, p. 289.

broken; and the monsoon seas destroyed the unfinished mole. In August Dadaji Raghunath, whom Sambhaji left in command of the besiegers attempted to land on Janjira. Those who have seen the Arabian Sea in the height of the monsoon can estimate justly the boldness of the attempt. It was pressed with the utmost daring. But the raging sea broke in pieces many of the boats. Others were sunk by the Abyssinian fleet. Those that reached the shore were driven back by the garrison. The Maratha attack failed with a loss of two hundred men. Dadaji Raghunath withdrew his army, but even so did not shake off his misfortunes. The triumphant Abyssinians raided the whole countryside and one night entering Mahad, a village below Mahableshwar, of which Dadaji Raghunath was hereditary deshpande or revenue officer, carried off his wife and family to Janjira.

After this disaster Sambhaji realised that without the command of the sea, he could not take Janjira. The rest of August and all September he spent in collecting warships and building others. About this time an Abyssinian named Sidi Misri, a relative of Sidi Sambal, who with Sidi Yakut and Sidi Khairiyat had deposed from his command the Afghan Fatih Khan deserted to Sambhaji.* The king placed him in command of the Maratha fleet; but since Sidi Misri had been reduced for incompetence in Janjira, the choice was not a happy one. Sidi Misri with thirty warships attacked the Janjira fleet outside Bombay. The Janjira vessels only numbered fifteen, but they were commanded by Yakut Khan, the most skilful Indian sailor of his time. The battle ended in a decisive victory for the Abyssinians. Four Maratha warships including Sidi Misri's flagship were taken. Sidi Misri himself, mortally wounded in the fight, was landed in Bombay to die; and the Maratha king once more foiled in his efforts to take Janjira turned his attention to a new danger, the recent alliance between the Moghuls and the Portuguese.

*See vol. I, p. 232.

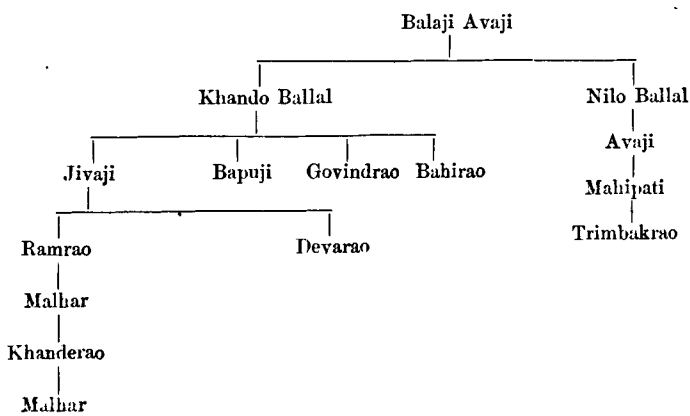
APPENDIX I

(Letter of Akbar to Sambhaji given in Riyasat, vol. i., p. 564)

"Ever since his reign began it has been Aurangzib's design to trample on the Hindus. This was the cause of his quarrel with the Rajputs. All men are God's children and the king is their protector. It is therefore not right for the emperor to destroy them. Aurangzib's wickedness has exceeded all bounds and I am certain that, because of the suffering he has inflicted on his people, the dominion will pass from his hands. Seeing that your country is far from the emperor's camp, I have resolved to come to you. With me is the Rathn Durgadas. Free your mind from all suspicions about me. If by the mercy of the Most High I win the empire, I shall be its master in name only. The empire will really be yours. Together we shall overthrow the emperor. What need to write overmuch to the wise?"

APPENDIX II

GENEOLOGICAL TREE OF THE CHITNIS FAMILY



(Sardesai vol. 1., p. 549)

CHAPTER XXV

THE PORTUGUESE WAR

A. D. 1683 TO 1684.

A LONG friendship had united the viceroys of Goa and the emperors of Delhi. Akbar, whose active mind sought to gather into one faith the various truths contained in several, invited to Fatehpur Sikri Portuguese priests and listened with interest to their preaching and to their contentions with the holy men of Islam. He shewed still further his appreciation of the Portuguese by adding to his zanana Maria Mascarenhas* and by building for her at Fatehpur Sikri the house, on which can still be seen painted the head and wings of the angel announcing to the Virgin the birth of the Saviour. It occurred to the resourceful brain of Aurangzib that the Portuguese might be induced to let him use Goa as a naval base for the conquest of the Deccan. The Sidis held the command of the sea and with Goa open to the Moghul transports, the emperor would have a second line of communication with the south. In return for the use of their harbours, the emperor offered to let the Portuguese hold whatever they could conquer from the Marathas by their unaided arms. The Portuguese had long dreaded the rise of the Maratha power; and not realising that to allow the emperor to make Goa a naval base was possibly to lose it for ever, the Viceroy Francesco de Tavora, Conde or Count of Alvor, foolishly agreed to the emperor's proposal.

* Uma Dona Portigueza na corte do grao mogol. p. 41. *et seq.* by J. A. Ismael Gracias. I know that the legend of Akbar's Portuguese wife was strenuously refuted by the late Mr. Vincent Smith. But with all deference to that eminent writer, I think that Mr. Gracias' statement of the case is conclusive. The discussion, however, of this question is outside the scope of this work.

News of this alliance soon reached Sambhaji. The latter had in January 1683 bribed six Arab warships* to attack an East Indiaman, the "President", commanded by Captain Hyde. But the "President", admirably sailed by her captain, sank three Arab ships and beat off the others. When the English complained, Sambhaji stoutly denied all knowledge of the incident, and learning the plans of Alvor made peace with the English by granting them trading privileges in Jinji. In June 1683, Sambhaji descended the Ghats with thirty thousand men and laid siege to the Portuguese fortress at Chaul. But both in attack and defence Sambhaji's engineers were far behind the Portuguese. In the cold weather the initiative passed to the King's enemies; and with twelve hundred Europeans and twenty-five thousand natives, Alvor ravaged the Maratha territories near Goa. Unable to cope with the Portuguese when covered by the guns of their fortress, Sambhaji, planned to lure them into the open country, where his cavalry would be able to act with freedom. To attain this end he sent agents into Goa. They talked openly of a vast store of treasure concealed by the Marathas in Phonda fort, and expressed wonder at the Portuguese not attempting its capture. The viceroy fell into the snare; and with eight hundred Europeans and eight thousand Canarese sepoys he set out to storm Phonda. The garrison defended itself vigorously, but in ten days the Portuguese siege train had battered to pieces its stone walls. The assault fixed two days later would certainly have carried all before it. At this point Sambhaji appeared to raise the siege. He had fourteen thousand foot and eight thousand cavalry. He soon cut Alvor's communications with Goa and the viceroy's army had either to starve, surrender or retreat. But to retreat in face of a Maratha army was to court disaster. His every step was harassed by charges of horse, while Maratha sharpshooters fired continuously from the hills at the retiring enemy. Alvor left behind him his

* Orme, p. 154.

baggage and his siege train; and before he reached Cumbarim island he had lost two hundred Europeans and a thousand Indian sepoys. At Cumbarim the Goa garrison came out to cover his retreat and a number of boats conveyed his soldiers to safety. Sambhaji's infantry likewise got boats and followed; but the Portuguese knowing better the reaches of the Goa river, rowed round the island and cut off and destroyed three thousand Marathas who had established themselves on it. In this way the shattered army of Alvor reached in safety the walls of Goa (September 1683).

Sambhaji, however, was not disposed to leave Goa to be the emperor's naval base without a serious attempt to take it. On the advice of prince Akbar he first tried fraud. The young Moghul had by this time grasped that it was beyond the power of the Maratha king to place him on the throne of Delhi. He was, therefore, anxious to go by sea to Persia and take refuge at the Shah's court. For this purpose he wished to build a ship in the Goa dockyards and asked for and obtained leave to send workmen to help in the building. His plan was to send daily large bodies of soldiers disguised as labourers and in this way to collect a strong force inside the city. The plot was discovered by Manucci, a Venetian adventurer who happened to be at Goa*; and the viceroy frustrated it by insisting that every night all the prince's workmen should leave the town and that next morning the same number only should return. Akbar then made a further attempt on Sambhaji's behalf. He was a friend, so he wrote to Alvor, both of the Portuguese and the Marathas, and before he left India he wished to mediate between them. Let him but enter Goa as arbitrator and he could soon smooth away every difficulty to the satisfaction both of the viceroy and the king. Alvor was at first duped but he afterwards perceived the Moghul's design. It was to enter Goa with a large escort, attack the garrison and open the gates while the Marathas assaulted

* Storia do Mogor, vol. II, p. 262.

the walls from without. The viceroy foiled this second plot by insisting that the prince's escort should not exceed seven men. Unable to succeed by fraud, Sambhaji made vigorous effort to succeed by force. He overran the provinces of Bardes and Salsette* and on the 25th November, 1683, took the island of Santo Estavao. The 25th November was the anniversary of Albuquerque's capture of Goa and the population and most of the garrison were celebrating it in the Goanese churches. At 10 p. m. Sambhaji sent across at low tide four thousand men. Taking the garrison by surprise, the Marathas put them to the sword and occupied the island fortress. Next day the viceroy tried to retake it, but the Portuguese were driven back with heavy loss. Several weeks passed in furious attacks by the Marathas and desperate resistance by the Portuguese. The forts of Rachol, Tivim, and Chapora fell into Sambhaji's hands and the town of Margoa surrendered. At last it seemed certain that the Maratha army would force a way through that part of Goa known as the quarter of Saint John. Despair seized the soul of the chivalrous Alvor. Death on the field of honour had no terrors for a noble of Portugal. But the fear of losing this ancient possession of his master's house weighed on him deeply and led him to form a strange resolve. Instructing his officers to fight to the last, he called together several monks and with them entered the church of Bom Gesu, wherein lie in splendid state the earthly remains of Francis Xavier.

This famous man, the scion of a noble Spanish house, was one of the first seven disciples of Ignatius Loyala, the founder of the Jesuits. At first ordered to convert to Christianity the Musulmans of Palestine, Xavier was afterwards chosen by Loyala to be the head of the mission sent by John III. of Portugal to convert the east. From 1542 to 1547 he preached in southern India and the Spice Islands and then left for Japan. Death overtook him in 1552 when about to attempt the conversion of China. His

* This is different from the island of Salsette to the north of Bombay.

body was first sent to Malacca and thence to Goa where either by divine agency or the embalmer's skill, it remains to this day perfectly preserved in the church of Bom Gesu. Xavier's canonisation in 1621 by Pope Gregory XV proves the miracles that the saint performed during his lifetime. He was now called upon, long after death, to perform a greater miracle still.

While the ramparts of Goa were resounding with the Marathas' cries of "Har Har Mahadev" and the answering shouts of the gallant Portuguese, the Count of Alvor ordered in the church of Bom Gesu a service in honour of the saint. During the service were recited and played the prayers and music that he once had loved. Then opening the dead man's tomb, Alvor placed in the hands of the corpse his staff of office and the royal letter by which the king had appointed him Viceroy of Goa. In a firm voice the Count declared that Francis Xavier and no longer Alvor was now Governor-General of the Portuguese Indies. Earthly arms had failed to defend it; let the saint now shield from harm the Estado de Goa*. This act performed, Alvor knelt in prayer by Xavier's head, and with many tears and sighs awaited the advent of the miracle. "What then," cries a contemporary chronicler, "were the dispositions of the new viceroy?" In a few moments the hard-pressed garrison saw on the horizon the advancing vanguard of a Moghul army; and after one desperate assault Sambhaji was forced to raise the siege.

The modern reader will look to some cause other than Francis Xavier's miraculous powers for the timely arrival of the Moghuls. Late in 1683 the emperor had moved from Burhanpur to Ahmadnagar, intending to make the latter city his headquarters. To his two sons, Shah Alam and Azam Shah, he entrusted large armies. He directed Azam Shah to overrun Khandesh and Nasik and above all, to take Salher, which he soon did, through the treachery of

* There is an admirable account of this incident in Uma dona Portugueza, p. 88 *et seq.*

the Maratha commandant. Shah Alam was to harry the south. Directly the siege of Goa began, the Viceroy sent Manucci to call to his aid the Moghul fleet, that was cruising off Vengorla. The Moghul admiral who had strict orders to prevent Akbar's flight by sea would not leave his post, but he seems to have sent word to Shah Alam of the danger in which Goa stood.

Shah Alam had in the meantime crossed the Krishna and entered the Belgaum district. He had stormed Shahpur, a little fort close to Belgaum, and Sampgaon, a town eighteen miles south-east of Belgaum. It was here that the prince seems to have received the message of the Moghul admiral. At once he led his troops through the Ramghat Pass, twenty-six miles west of Belgaum; and overcoming a Maratha force sent against him by Sambhaji, then struggling furiously to take Goa, his army poured into Savantvadi and hastened by forced marches to the relief of Alvor. It was the vanguard of this army that the despairing Portuguese saw on the sky line. It must, however, be admitted that the Portuguese were soon almost as frightened of their heaven-sent allies as they had been of the Marathas. The Moghul commander wished to bring his fleet into the Goa harbour, while his army camped inside the walls. But on the advice of Manucci who, as Shah Alam's doctor, had had a long experience of his patient's* character, the viceroy refused the Moghul fleet

---

*Orme's fragments, p. 171 and Storia de Mogor, vol. II., p. 273. As the names of Aurangzib's sons and daughters are confusing, I shall give their names below:—

Sons. . .
1. Mahomed Sultan. He deserted to Shuja during the war of succession—June 1659—. He was thereafter imprisoned until his death on 3rd December, 1676.
2. Mahomed Muazzim or Shah Alam, afterwards the emperor Bahadur Shah.
3. Mahomed Azam or Azam Shah, killed in battle against Shah Alam.
4. Mahomed Akbar. Commonly known as Akbar.
5. Mahomed Kam Baksh. Commonly called Kam Baksh. Killed in battle against Shah Alam.

admission; and by firing on their leading galliots forced them to flee into the river Nerul to the north of the city. Shah Alam revenged himself by plundering Bardes and other Portuguese villages and by carrying off their women and children.

From Goa Shah Alam marched on Vengorla where he burnt a ship belonging to prince Akbar and sacked the town for having sheltered it. From the surrounding districts he gathered in the cattle, reaped the standing corn and burnt the villages. In this way he soon ate up the Konkan and then realised the folly of his quarrel with the Portuguese. The viceroy no longer allowed the Moghul foodstuffs to use his harbours. The river Bardes wherein they were forced to discharge had no facilities; and harassed by the Maratha horse, the victorious army was soon on the verge of starvation. Shah Alam broke his camp and began to retreat along the Konkan shore. His real difficulties now began. Sambhaji's troops were amply supplied from the grain stores in his forts, very few of which Shah Alam had taken. Shah Alam's army had no resources whatever. A pestilence broke out among the starving Musulmans and took a daily toll of five hundred men and of unnumbered horses, elephants and camels. The prince sent a messenger to Aurangzib imploring help. The emperor sent to his relief Ruhulla Khan, the imperial paymaster, with part of the army at first entrusted by him to Azam Shah. After the capture of Salher that prince had in vain tried to take the Maratha fort Ramsej or Rama's couch. It is on a hill near Nasik, and the divine Rama is supposed to have sometimes slept on it, when

---

Daughters...
1. Zebunnissa. She helped Akbar in his rebellion and was imprisoned until her death in 1702.
2. Zinatunnissa. She succeeded her aunt Jahanara as head of Aurangzib's seraglio and to the title of Begam Sahib. It is she who befriended the youthful Shahu.
3. Mehrunnissa. Married.
4. Zabdatunnissa. ,,
5. Badrunnissa. Died unmarried, aged only 22.

living with Sita on the banks of the Godavari. After this failure, Azam Shah had retired to the imperial headquarters. At the same time as the emperor sent a force by land, he sent by sea from Surat a fleet of foodstuffs to relieve his son's immediate wants. Unhappily for the Moghuls the food-ships fell into Maratha hands. The troops, however, under Ruhulla Khan successfully reached their goal*. On the 18th May, 1684, the remnants of Shah Alam's army found the welcome shelter of the walls of Ahmadnagar.

In spite of Shah Alam's retreat, his own failure to take Goa seems to have weighed heavily on the Maratha King's mind. Since the discovery of the Shirke plot, he distrusted his Maratha officers, with the single exception of his cavalry commander, Hambirrao Mohite, a blunt and gallant soldier, whose nature somewhat resembled his own. Unwilling, in view of his great services to Shivaji, to dismiss Moro Pingle from the post of Peshwa, he yet would not give him either power or responsibility. These he gave in full measure to a certain Kalasha, by caste a Kanoja or Kanauj Brahman. He was a member of an obscure clan who near Allahabad lived on the offerings of certain Deccan families. These employed as priests the members of Kalasha's caste, whenever they made pilgrimages to Allahabad or Benares. Among the clients of Kalasha's family were the Bhosles and Kalasha seems to have been privy to Shivaji's escape from Agra and to have been intimate with Sambhaji, while the latter remained behind at Mathura. With the charming manners of Northern India he won a great influence over the young prince, which lasted until his death. Shortly after Sambhaji became king, he made Kalasha his chief executive officer with the titles of Kavi Kalasha or of Kalasha the poet and Chandagomatya.† But Kalasha,‡ admirably suave and

* History of Aurangzib, p. 294, vol. IV.

† The meaning of this word is doubtful, but probably it means "learned in the Vedas."

‡ The correct Hindi spelling of this word is Kalasha (or jar).

courteous towards his master, was arrogant towards his Maratha colleagues and subordinates and crassly stupid about questions of Deccan administration. He was still less competent to manage the royal possessions in Southern India. He tried to hide his incapacity by blaming the diffuseness of the official reports and gave out publicly that the king's power would increase if he abandoned all Shivaji's distant conquests. He used to tell Sambhaji that a kingdom should be like the jewel in a ring, at all times wholly visible to its owner's eye. The Marathas, who hated Kalasha both as a fool and a foreigner, believed that he retained his influence over Sambhaji by charms and magic and by hideous rites in which the blood of cows and buffaloes flowed abundantly. It seems, however, probable that the minister kept and increased his power by the methods commonly used in India by those who wish to subject a prince to their will. He plied Sambhaji with wine, bhang and opium; and, as Cardinal Dubois did for the Regent Orleans, he procured for him an endless succession of pretty and lascivious women. But whatever the secret of Kalasha's domination, it was disastrous to the Maratha state. The finances fell into disorder. Shivaji's treasure was exhausted; and unable to pay his troops, Sambhaji gave them leave to plunder at will, thus relaxing the iron discipline by which Shivaji had made his armies formidable. The result was seen in the successes presently gained by the Moghul commanders.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE GREAT MOGHUL OFFENSIVE
THE CONQUEST OF BIJAPUR.

A. D. 1684 TO 1686

DIRECTLY the rains of 1684 had abated, the Moghul armies began to move. Shahabuddin Khan, the father of Nizam ul Mulk, of whom much will be read hereafter, advanced with a great force to take Raygad. He was burning to achieve distinction, for he had been involved in Azam Shah's failure to take Ramsej. That stronghold had been most gallantly defended. The Moghuls in vain built lofty towers from which to command the interior of the fortress. The commandant, whose name unhappily has not survived, built his walls still higher and repelled every assault. When his cannon wore out he fired leather missiles from the trunks of hollowed-out trees; and when these failed him he drove back the storming parties with showers of stones, burning grass, and old quilts steeped in naphtha and set on fire. Shahabuddin Khan was relieved by Khan Jehan, but neither science nor patience could overcome the dauntless courage of the besieged. At last, baffled by the garrison within and harassed without by Hambirrao Mohite's cavalry, Khan Jehan withdrew his force. Before retiring he burnt Shahabuddin Khan's wooden towers amid the mockery of the Marathas, who begged of him not to run away, but to hide under the ashes of his own edifices.* The siege of Ramsej raised, Hambirrao Mohite made a countermove. At Pathdi, some forty miles south-east of Poona, were the emperor's elephant stables. Mohite detached a body of Maratha cavalry who swooped down on Pathdi, killed the

* Scott's Deccan; Sarkar, vol. IV., p. 298.

garrison, and drove off the entire herd of elephants. Khan Jehan, grasping the importance of their recovery rode night and day after the raiders and in the end recovered all, or nearly all, the missing elephants.*

On his way to Raygad Shahabuddin Khan took and garrisoned Chakan and Supa in the Poona district and then descended into the Konkan. A large Maratha force met him at Pachad at the foot of Raygad, but in that hilly tract their cavalry had no room to deploy. They were severely beaten and with the loss of their guns and equipment retreated into the fort. Raygad itself was impregnable; and the Moghul general after magnifying his victory in his despatches to the emperor, raised the siege. As a reward for his success at Pachad he was given the titles of Ghazi-ud-din (the Apostle of the Faith) and Firoz Jang (the sapphire of battle).

In February, 1685, Sambhaji to retaliate sent a body of ten thousand cavalry to plunder Khandesh under Niloji Pandit. This force sacked Dharamgaon † and ravaged the neighbourhood; but in its absence Shah Alam moved south and took one after the other Gokak, Hubli, Dharwar and Karwar. In turn Sambhaji detached fifteen thousand horse to harass Shah Alam's movement. This duty they did so skilfully that once more Shah Alam had to retreat with the loss of half his army. The forts, however, that he had taken remained in the hands of Moghul garrisons.

Believing that he had for the moment inflicted sufficient losses on the Marathas, and confident from the reports that reached him that Sambhaji, if left to himself, would abandon himself to drink and women, the emperor applied himself to the darling project of his life, namely, the conquest of Bijapur and Golconda. One of the last feats of the great king was to force Diler Khan to raise the siege of Bijapur. Since then there had been no active

---

* Scott's Deccan.

† Sarkar, vol. IV., p. 301.

hostilities between Aurangzib and Masaud Khan, the Bijapur regent. Indeed, both the emperor and his daughter-in-law, Shahr Banu, the wife of Azam Shah, known to the Marathas as Padshah Begam, had in 1681 appealed to the Bijapur general, Sarza Khan, to join in a combined crusade against Sambhaji. But the Adil Shahi government knew well that the destruction of Sambhaji would be followed by their own; and instead of sending help to Aurangzib secretly sent every man whom they could spare to the Maratha king's aid. To punish Bijapur, Aurangzib had twice sent Azam Shah to raid its northern territories. But it was not until the 1st April, 1685, that the offensive against Bijapur began. The difficulties faced by the invading army were three-fold. The Adil Shahi king, Sikandar Shah, had taken over the government himself, and Masaud Khan, the former regent, had retired to Adoni, where he hoped to establish an independent state. Rid of this worthless man, Sikandar faced the Moghul invasion with calm courage.* He asked for and obtained promises of help from Golconda, where the wise Madanna Pant was still first minister, and from Sambhaji. On the 14th August, 1685, a Golconda force under Ambaji Pandit reached Bijapur and from December, 1685, Hambirrao Mohite, with a body of Maratha horse, began to harass the Moghul communications with the north. In October, 1685, another body of Maratha cavalry, imitating Shivaji's raid on Surat, appeared suddenly before Broach. This historic city, known to the Greek mariners of Egypt as Barugaza, was one of the most ancient ports of India. Its name is derived from two words, Bhrigu and Kaccha. Kaccha means field, and Bhrigu Kaccha means the field of Bhrigu, the name of the mighty rishi, or seer, who owned it. On one occasion, so it is related, the rishis of India, doubtful which one of the Hindu triad they should honour most, sent Bhrigu to visit in person

*He sent a spirited letter to Aurangzib demanding the evacuation of his country and the return of the tribute paid by him. On those terms he said he would join the emperor against the Marathas. See extract of his letter in Appendix.

the gods and report to the other rishis his impressions. Bhrigu visited in turn Brahmadev, Shiva, and Vishnu. The first, absorbed in the high affairs of heaven, paid but scant heed to the visitor. The angry Bhrigu cursed the god, so that thereafter he received no worship from any of the children of men. Bhrigu next visited Shiva, but was refused admittance. Bhrigu imposed on him the penalty that his image should never be seen in any human temple. Last of all Bhrigu visited Vishnu and found the god asleep. Angered beyond control by the continued disrespect, Bhrigu kicked the slumbering god in the chest. Vishnu awoke and with admirable courtesy clasped the rishi's foot to his bosom and paid him the highest honours. The rishi, his good humour restored, returned to earth and proclaimed Vishnu the greatest of the triad. This view had since generally prevailed, and the god to commemorate the incident, wears a jewel over the spot where the rishi's foot struck him. It is known as Bhrigulanchan, or Bhrigu's kick.*

The reputed holiness of the ancient town proved no defence against the Maratha raiders. They plundered Broach as thoroughly as Shivaji had plundered Surat. With them was prince Akbar, who hoped from Broach to flee back to Rajputana. The Maratha troops did him public homage as emperor, but their force was too small to cut its way north. On the appearance of a Moghul army from Ahmadabad, led by the Viceroy of Guzarat, the Marathas fled back with their plunder to the Deccan.

The chief resource of the Bijapur king was in the undaunted spirit of his people. As early as June 1685 the Bijapur cavalry cut the communications of Azam Shah, who was in command of the besieging force. At last, the prince's officers begged him in a council of war to retreat.†

* Since writing the above, I have met a descendant of Bhrigu, Mr. Munshi, an advocate of the Bombay High Court. This gentleman very kindly added a sequel to the story. When Bhrigu kicked Vishnu he had a kamal or lotus on his foot. As a punishment for kicking a god the lotus fell off; ever since his descendants have lacked the prosperity the lotus denotes.

† Sarkar vol. IV., p. 316.

But the fear that his brother, Shah Alam, might pay him back the cutting jests, that he had himself made about Shah Alam's disasters, made the prince cling to his post. Aurangzib, approving his son's conduct, determined to open up his son's communications. He himself was at Sholapur and had no provisions to spare. But he ordered Shahabuddin Khan, hereafter known as Firoz Jang, to set out from Ahmadnagar with twenty thousand bullock-loads of grain. The Bijapur government guessed rightly that the fate of their city depended on the failure or success of Firoz Jang. Sarza Khan, and Abdur Raf, with eight thousand horse, threw themselves with the utmost valour on Firoz Jang's convoy. For some time the fate of the relieving force hung in the balance. But Firoz Jang rose to the height of his recent honours. Through his generalship and the stimulating presence of Jani Begam, one of Azam Shah's wives, who from the back of an elephant, cheered on her husband's succours, the convoy reached in safety the headquarters of the besieging army.* From this moment the tide turned; and no longer anxious about his son's safety, Aurangzib was able to dam the stream of reinforcements that Madanna Pant was sending from Golconda.

Against the Kutb Shahi king the imperial government had valid grounds of complaint. He had helped Shivaji in his great southern campaign. Although warned by the emperor of the consequences of such conduct, Abu Hussein had continued to send to Bijapur troops, equipment and supplies. But it was characteristic of Aurangzib that he advanced a wholly different ground. He sent one Mirza Mahomed to demand two giant diamonds, which, so the emperor asserted, lay hidden among the Kutb Shahi treasures. With exquisite courtesy Abu Hussein assured the envoy that had he possessed such gems, he would long ago have sent them as a gift to his suzerain. Foiled in this attempt to pick a quarrel, Aurangzib sent without

* Khafi Khan and Scott's Deccan.

further pretence Khan Jehan and Shah Alam with large armies to punish Abu Hussein for the aid given by him to Bijapur. Abu Hussein sent Ibrahim Khan with forty thousand men to oppose the Moghul advance.* Ibrahim Khan was an officer of high reputation and had the full confidence of Abu Hussein and Madanna Pant. He made a daring attempt to overwhelm Khan Jehan before Shah Alam could send him help. He manœuvred so skilfully that he at last isolated a body of ten thousand men under Khan Jehan, and with his entire army attacked it in front, flank and rear. Khan Jehan extricated himself by his own skill and courage. He killed in single combat one of the enemy's leading officers. Thereafter he determined to cut his way through the ever narrowing circle of the Golconda troops. In front he put an elephant belonging to Raja Ram Sing, the son of Jai Sing and Shivaji's companion at Agra. In the elephant's trunk its mahout put a heavy iron chain. The sagacious beast used the chain with such terrible effect against the Golconda horsemen that he forced in their ranks a gap, through which Khan Jehan and most of his men succeeded in escaping. (March 1686.)

Khan Jehan celebrated his escape as if it had been a victory, and sent a glowing account of it to the emperor. But Aurangzib was too skilled a soldier to be deceived; and he reprimanded for their inactivity both the general and the prince. They became more slothful than ever and were soon besieged in their own camp and exposed to the rocket fire of the Kutb Shahi general. But other forces were working in favour of the emperor. Ibrahim Khan and many other Musulman officers of Abu Hussein regarded with envy the favours conferred on Madanna Pant and on his brother Akanna Pant. Indeed, it would seem that with the avarice of increasing years they appropriated to themselves large sums from the state coffers.† Ibrahim Khan

*Khafi Khan.

†Orme, p. 186.

in his hatred of the Brahman brothers, listened readily to proposals made to him by Moghul emissaries. Although master of the field he withdrew his troops and allowed Khan Jehan and his army unmolested to leave their camp, and to occupy the fortress of Malkhed, the chief bulwark of the Golconda state. Justly indignant, Abu Hussein recalled Ibrahim Khan to stand his trial. Ibrahim Khan retaliated by openly deserting to Khan Jehan with the larger part of the king's army. Rustum Rao, Madanna Pant's nephew, was appointed to the chief command and rapidly restored discipline. But Abu Hussein's mind had been so affected by Ibrahim Khan's treachery that one night in June he abandoned Haidarabad, which he had made his capital, and fled to Golconda fort. The flight of the king led to a tumult in the city. The army retreated and fell back on Golconda in disorder. First the criminal classes and then the imperial troops plundered Haidarabad and subjected the inhabitants of both sexes to every kind of barbarity and outrage. Madanna Pant tried in vain to restore Abu Hussein's courage. But the king's only thought was to make peace with Aurangzib. On reaching Haidarabad, Shah Alam did his best to quell the disorder, and to that prince came the envoys of the trembling monarch. Shah Alam had no wish to be over harsh to a Musulman sovereign. Still more he feared his father's jealousy, if he took a fortress that had once defied Aurangzib's own arms. He imposed a fine of twelve million rupees and required the cession of Malkhed and the surrounding districts. Madanna Pant and Akanna Pant were to be imprisoned and Abu Hussein was publicly to ask of Aurangzib forgiveness for any offence which the imperial fancy might fasten on him.* These disgraceful terms were eagerly accepted. In silver chains Abu Hussein appeared in his oppressor's camp, and prostrating himself in the dust, implored and obtained pardon for numerous crimes, very few of which he had committed.† In regard

* Khafi Khan.

† Orme, p. 188.

to Madanna Pant, Akanna Pant and their nephew, a zanana intrigue forestalled the imperial wishes. Some women in Abu Hussein's harem sent to their houses a band of assassins and all three fell stabbed by the murderers' knives. Their heads were sent with many compliments to the prince's camp. By treating with some leniency Abu Hussein, Shah Alam escaped the jealousy of the emperor. Nevertheless he incurred the censure of the commander-in-chief. Aurangzib sent for both Shah Alam and Khan Jehan and reprimanded them for not completing the conquest of the kingdom. (October 1686.)

The left flank of the imperial army was now safe from the attacks of Golconda. Sambhaji's inactivity secured the safety of the emperor's right flank. Aurangzib, therefore, could concentrate his energies on the reduction of Bijapur. It took some months for Shah Alam to extort from the wretched Abu Hussein the large indemnity which he had agreed to pay. But in June 1686 all that could be squeezed out of Golconda had been paid into the emperor's treasury and the Moghul army of occupation, now under the sole command of Shah Alam,* joined Aurangzib's camp outside Bijapur. But the prince was in no humour to work cordially either with his father or his brother Azam Shah. The censures of the former and the gibes of the latter rankled deeply, and in order to cheat them of the glory of conquest Shah Alam opened secret negotiations with the Adil Shahi king Sikandar. The prince's envoy was one Shah Kuli. Sikandar's envoy was one Sayad Alam. But Shah Kuli was fond of forbidden liquor and in his cups boasted that shortly his arts would reduce Bijapur. His words were soon reported to Ruhulla Khan, the head of the military police, who repeated them to Aurangzib. Shah Kuli was arrested. Under torture he named his accomplices and among them the prince. Shah Alam repudiated the charge, and as even the emperor could hardly order the torture of a prince of the blood, the emperor released, but

* Khan Jehan had been disgraced.

entirely ceased to trust him. Sikandar Shah next tried an appeal to the emperor's religious feelings and sent his best theologians to convince Aurangzib that to fight against a true believer was opposed to the teachings of Islam. But Aurangzib's religion was always under the control of his political ambitions and he skilfully retaliated by charging Sikandar with his alliance with the infidel Marathas. If Sikandar would join him in a crusade against Sambhaji, Aurangzib would at once raise the siege of Bijapur. Sikandar knew that even so he would not save his kingdom and hoped against hope that Saṃbhaji would, as Shivaji had done before, lead a Maratha army to his rescue. He, therefore, continued the defence with unabated vigour.

The chief obstacle to the besiegers was now the moat round the city. It was deep and full of water; and in every direction it was guarded by flanking towers. The emperor's aim was to fill it up with earth, but so deadly was the musketry fire from the walls that no labourers could be hired for the duty. At last by offering a gold coin for a single basket of earth he was able to proceed with the work. But earth was not the only material used. Dead cattle, horses and men were hurled into the moat; and many an unfortunate labourer who had earned a few gold coins was robbed of his gains and thrown in alive by his brother workmen.* At last the perseverance of the emperor and the skill of his engineers caused Sikandar Shah to despair. His garrison now numbered only a handful. In September he opened negotiations with Aurangzib and on the 12th September, 1686,† the famous city surrendered. Aurangzib entered it in triumph and at first affected to treat Sikandar Shah with liberality. But in later years the deposed king must often have regretted that he had not trusted to the chances of war, desperate though they were, rather than to the generosity of his

*Sarkar, vol. IV., p. 322.

†This is the date given by Mr. Sarkar. Khafi Khan gives October as the month of the surrender.

conqueror. Instead of the high office promised him by Aurangzib, he was given a dungeon in the fortress of Daulatabad. After some years he was released and dragged about from place to place, a prisoner in the camp of the emperor. In 1700 A. D., when only 32, he died during the siege of Satara fort. The tide had then begun to turn and the failure of the Moghul offensive was imminent. It was therefore not unfitting that then, too, Aurangzib should lose the pleasure he derived from the sorrows of his captive.

APPENDIX

EXTRACT FROM SIKANDAR ADIL SHAH'S LETTER TO AURANGZIB

"You should hand over to me according to ancient practice the territory of the Moreed Zadup (Son of a spiritual pupil) which formed the jaghir of Sarja Khan and Mangalvedha and Sangola, etc., which are now in the possession of Nawab Umdat ul Mulk. If the imperial forces and those of the nobles and ministers quit my territory, it will remove the misfortunes that follow a military occupation and the people of my villages will be happy. If I be favoured with the money which has been levied from the servants of the exalted court, I shall be able to pay my sepoys and accomplish the object of the expedition against the sinful infidel (Sambhaji)."

(This letter was discovered in 1848 by Sir Bartle Frere then Resident of Satara.)

CHAPTER XXVII

THE GREAT MOGHUL OFFENSIVE
THE CONQUEST OF GOLCONDA

A. D. 1686 TO 1687

THE conquest of Bijapur led indirectly to another event fortunate for the emperor, the flight of prince Akbar. The imperial victories and the sloth of Sambhaji so weighed on the prince's mind that he resolved to flee from the Deccan, wherein success seemed impossible and danger imminent. In October 1686 he and Sambhaji parted without regret. At Rajapur the prince hired a vessel commanded by an Englishman called Bendal,* and by bribing Sidi Yakut Khan of Janjira, succeeded in evading the sea patrols established by the emperor to prevent his escape. Akbar's destination was Persia, but adverse winds drove him to Muscat. The Sultan welcomed him courteously but detained him and sent with all speed a messenger to Aurangzib, offering to betray the fugitive for two lakhs of rupees and the exemption of Muscat ships from the Surat customs duties. The emperor readily agreed, and sent one Haji Fazil, an old naval captain, to secure prince Akbar. Happily for him the King of Persia had heard of his plight and under threat of instant war forced the treacherous Arab to surrender his prey. Akbar made his way to the Persian court, where Shah Sulaiman, and after him his son Shah Hussein, shewed him a generous and unwearying kindness. Akbar spent many years at Khorasan, waiting vainly for his father's death. But the great age to which the emperor lived defeated his ambition, and in 1706, when Akbar breathed his last, Aurangzib was still alive.

*Orme, p. 189.

In spite of his treaty with Abu Hussein and the latter's real efforts to keep it, Aurangzib had no sooner conquered Bijapur than he determined to conquer Golconda. He called a council of war, ostensibly to consider in which direction the imperial armies should move. Shah Alam, who had signed the treaty with Abu Hussein, proposed the reduction of Sambhaji. Kam Baksh, however, Aurangzib's youngest son, acting on his father's instructions proposed the immediate conquest of Golconda. Shah Alam protested that such a course would be a stain on his own honour, and added that the loss of a son's honour involved the loss of his father's. But the word 'honour' had no meaning for Aurangzib. The protest, delivered in a spirited tone, roused the emperor's anger. He publicly reprimanded the prince and threatened him with lifelong imprisonment. Shah Alam wisely kept his temper, but his son Muazuddin drew his sword* and was with difficulty restrained by Shah Alam from killing his grandfather. "Let us not," said Shah Alam, "set a pernicious example to posterity." The emperor, with a magnanimous air, affected to overlook the young prince's conduct, but his acts presently shewed that, as was his wont, he had nursed and brooded over the insult. To those present in the Council he declared that his work in the Deccan was over, that his treaty with Golconda forbade its conquest and that he would at once return to Delhi. To give colour to this story, he sent offers of peace to Sambhaji, who gladly consented to a treaty that would leave him free to enjoy strong drink and the society of pretty women.

But the emperor's intention was still to reduce Abu Hussein to the same state as Sikandar Shah, and he concealed it merely to surprise the king. He began to march northwards as if to Delhi; on his way, so he wrote to Abu Hussein, he wished to do homage to the tomb of Sayad Mahomed Gisu, a famous saint of Gulbarga, and asked leave to visit it. Abu Hussein begged the emperor

* Khafi Khan.

to do so, and sent him 500,000 gold mohurs to distribute in charity. The emperor accepted the money, worshipped at the saint's shrine until his army had occupied a number of strategic points, and then repaid Abu Hussein's gift by marching with all speed on his capital. His pretext was the balance of the tribute which Abu Hussein still owed. The unhappy king did his best to avert disaster by raising in his city a forced loan. The amount so collected still fell short of his debt to the imperial exchequer. He implored the emperor's envoy, Sadat Khan, to intercede for him, and stripping himself and his wives of their jewels begged Sadat Khan to send them to Aurangzib. The envoy did so; and the emperor's debt having been paid in full, he was forced to invent a new pretext for his continued aggression. He wrote a long letter of reproach* to Abu Hussein in which he repeated his charge of alliance with infidels and added to it charges of drunkenness, debauchery and injustice. To none of Aurangzib's warnings had Abu Hussein paid heed. "In the insolence of intoxication and worthlessness," wrote the emperor, "you have had no regard for the infamy of your deeds and you have displayed no hope of salvation either in this world or the next". After reading this hypocritical missive, Abu Hussein's spirit rose to the same height as in the campaign of 1677, when he defeated the combined armies of Delhi and Bijapur. He withdrew into the fort of Golconda, and fortifying it with all speed and care sent fifty thousand men to delay as long as possible the emperor's advance. But Ibrahim Khan, whose treachery had in the last war proved fatal to his master, commanded the Moghul vanguard. A traitor himself, he succeeded in corrupting many of the Musulman officers in the army opposed to him. Nevertheless, Abdur Razzak, the Kutb Shahi commander-in-chief, delayed the investment until the end of January, 1687, and then withdrew into the fortress to join the garrison. The emperor tried to take it by a sudden assault. But the leader of the storming

*Khafi Khan, p. 325. Elliott and Dawson, vol. VII.

party, Kulich Khan, Firoz Jang's father, and grandfather of Nizam ul Mulk, was killed by a cannon ball, and the assault failed. Both sides now prepared for a long siege, and Firoz Jang was placed at the head of the besieging army.

The pride of Shah Alam had been deeply hurt by the emperor's disregard of the treaty, and while under the walls of Golconda, his feelings led him to enter into separate negotiations with Abu Hussein. The king plied the prince with presents in the hope of securing his intercession, and invited him to a personal interview within the fortress. Shah Alam accepted the invitation; but before he could act on it, news of it reached the emperor's ears. Next morning when Shah Alam and his two eldest sons Muazzuddin and Mahomed Azim, attended the daily durbar the emperor asked them in the kindest tones to go into an adjoining room to confer on matters of state with two of his generals. Not suspecting treachery, the princes complied and were at once arrested. The prisoners were treated with the utmost severity, and for six months were not allowed even to dress their hair. Gradually their imprisonment grew less harsh, but it was not until seven years had passed that Aurangzib released Shah Alam from confinement. Shah Alam's arrest in no way discouraged Sikandar Shah. The soul of his defence was the gallant Abdur Razzak. Aurangzib, accustomed easily to corrupt the chiefs of opposing armies, offered him almost regal honours if he would betray his master. But Abdur Razzak called to him the leading soldiers of the army, read out in their presence the emperor's letter, and by way of answer tore it to pieces on one of the bastions of Golconda. Sikandar Shah had accumulated vast stores of food and ammunition. The Golconda springs were abundant and perennial. Outside famine raged; for Sambhaji, seeing that the emperor's peace was merely a device to gain time, sent Maratha horse to cut off the imperial supplies.

The emperor decided to fill in the moat as he had done Bijapur, and after purifying himself, sewed the seams

of the first cotton bag to be filled with earth and thrown into the moat. In spite of the fire from the walls, the Moghuls filled it in and tried to build on it a mound high enough to overlook the city. On the mound they intended to place heavy guns and looked forward to a speedy surrender. But increased fire from the walls hindered the erection of the mound. And the besiegers' losses and the prevailing famine depressed dangerously their spirit. The emperor recalled Azam Shah from northern India, and Ruhulla Khan from Bijapur, and bade them come at once with all available troops and supplies. They obeyed the command but the reinforcements ε the supplies which they brought. In May, therefore, Firoz Jang attempted a night surprise. He collected scaling ladders and ropes and his attempt all but succeeded. A few men had reached the top when a pariah dog barked at them and gave the alarm. The garrison rushed to the spot, threw down the ladders, killed those who had mounted by them and drove off the rest of the storming party by musket fire, from the walls. The next day Abu Hussein visited the spot and thanked the defenders. For the pariah dog he reserved special honours. He gave it a gold collar, a gold chain and a gold coat. He created it a noble of Golconda and kept it thereafter as his constant companion*.

Next day the garrison counterattacked. At Abdur Razzak's orders a picked force sallied from the fortress, carried the mound, blew it up and destroyed both its garrison and the artillery to be mounted on it. With indomitable perseverance, Aurangzib had the mound rebuilt and fresh cannon made ready for it. But now another ally came to the aid of the besieged. In the middle of June the monsoon broke and three days' heavy rain washed down the half finished work and flooded the trenches. Once again Abdur Razzak led out his men, and either killed or made captive every soldier inside them. Among the prisoners was Sarbarah Khan, one of Aurangzib's most

* Khafi Khan.

trusted officers. Abu Hussein received kindly the veteran Moghul, and shewing him his vast stores of food and ammunition, tried to convince him how hopeless was the siege. He then sent him back to the emperor with a letter in which he deplored the mutual slaughter of the faithful, and offered to pay as tribute ten million rupees as well as a present of ten million rupees for each attempt that Aurangzib had made to storm the fortress. If the emperor preferred it he would provision the besieging army, so as to facilitate its retirement. Aurangzib angrily refused to cross the golden bridge. He sent back a message that he would never pardon Abu Hussein until he had seen him stand in front of him with clasped hands. Exasperated at his failure to raise batteries to command the fortress, Aurangzib decided to undermine its walls. To the skill of the engineers the emperor added his own cunning. He drew up his army as if to assault a spot where three mines had been dug under the walls. By this device he wished to draw there a large number of the garrison and blow them up together with the fortifications. But Abdur Razzak's skill was superior to that of the imperial engineers. Countermining, he discovered the mines and wetted the gunpowder on the side of the fortress. The result was that when the mines were fired only one ignited. It blew outwards and harmless to the garrison, killed a number of the besiegers. The garrison instantly sallied out and in the confusion inflicted heavy loss on their enemies. The besiegers had no sooner driven back the sallying party than the second mine exploded unexpectedly, and proved also far more fatal to the Moghuls than to the fortress.

The emperor resolved once again to build the mound and raise on it heavy batteries. But ill-fortune attended his every enterprise. On the completion of the mound and the erection of the batteries, he ordered a general assault. But a violent storm broke and in a few minutes turned the countryside into a sea of mud. In the water-logged ground the Moghul battalions could neither advance nor retire,

and fell in heaps under the fire of the fortress. At last Abdur Razzak sallying out, cut them to pieces, spiked their guns and blew up their earthworks. He removed at leisure the beams and bags of earth used in building the mound and employed them successfully to repair such damage as the explosion of the mines had caused to the walls. Among the wounded was Firoz Jang, the commander of the besieging army.

Disgusted at his repeated failure the emperor again had recourse to treachery. He made further overtures to Abdur Razzak, but received the reply that Abdur Razzak would fight to the death like the gallant men, who died round the prophet's grandson at Karbela. An Afghan named Abdulla Khan received Aurangzib's proposals more favourably. On the 27th September, 1687,* Abdulla Khan opened the gate over which he held command. The Moghuls passed through and overpowered the surprised garrison. But the lofty soul of Abdur Razzak refused to accept defeat. With only a dozen followers he threw himself on the Moghul army. His followers were soon cut down. But Abdur Razzak's swordsmanship was as unrivalled as his courage. Leaving behind him a lane of dead and dying, he cut his way through a thousand enemies; and with the blood streaming from seventy wounds he strove to reach the upper citadel, wherein he hoped to organise a fresh defence. But the dauntless spirit that had triumphed over ill-fortune, pain, nay even death itself, could no longer sustain the body's failing strength. He swayed in his saddle, then reeled and fell under a cocoanut tree in the garden of the citadel. Two days later he was found and carried to the house of Ruhulla Khan, who chivalrously cared for the fallen leader. In course of time Abdur Razzak recovered and, although at first he refused, eventually accepted high office in the imperial army.

Abu Hussein met calamity with the same spirit with which he had borne the siege. On hearing of Abdulla

* Orme, p. 14.

Khan's treachery, he went to his zanana and there took leave of his wives and asked their pardon for any offences that he might inadvertently have committed. Then going to the great room where he had for many years held royal state, he seated himself on his throne and with unmoved face awaited the coming of the Moghul leaders. As they delayed, he sent for and ate his evening meal. When Ruhulla Khan, the first Moghul captain to enter the palace arrived, he greeted him with exquisite urbanity. When Azim Shah came he threw round his neck the rich pearl necklace that he himself was wearing. Escorted to Aurangzib's presence, so high was his bearing that he extorted from the conqueror civility, if not humanity. Like Sikandar Shah, Abu Hussein passed from a throne to a dungeon in Daulatabad. His treasures were valued at nearly seven millions sterling in coin alone. His jewels probably amounted to another million*. Of this sum one lakh only was diverted from the imperial treasury. Before Abu Hussein was sent to Daulatabad, he spent an evening listening to the imperial band. So pleased was he at the skill of the bandsmen that he said with a sigh that had he still been a king, he would have divided among them a hundred thousand rupees. The words were repeated to Aurangzib and he at once ordered the sum in question to be paid to the fortunate musicians.†

The siege of Golconda, lasting as it did for eight months, caused to the imperialists vast losses both in men and material. Nor was there any real corresponding gain. The cost of the siege far exceeded the treasures found in the fort. The rich country round Golconda had been so plundered that it was no longer cultivated and it paid to Delhi very little of what it had formerly paid to the Kutbshahi kings. It is true that the prestige acquired by the conquest both of Bijapur and Golconda was immense, and the state maintained at this time by Aurangzib was

* Khafi Khan.

† Chitnis Bakhar.

almost incredible. Vast stables full of horses accompanied the emperor on every march. Elephants carried the innumerable ladies of his seraglio. Hundreds of cages containing every kind of bird and animal from ostriches and hawks to tigers and hunting cheetahs followed him to every camp. The canvas walls outside the royal tents were 1200 yards in circumference. Inside hung in profusion Persian carpets and tapestries, Chinese silks, Indian muslins, and cloth of gold, European satins, velvets and broadcloth. The privacy of his zanana was as complete as in the Delhi fort, while the ceremonial observed in the camp was the same as that of the Diwan-i-Aam and the Diwan-i-Khas. In the midst of this pomp and splendour moved the grim and austere figure of the emperor. His personal expenditure cost the state not a single farthing. An old Islamic legend exists that once King David was vouchsafed a vision of an angel of the Lord and humbly expressed the hope that his government of Israel was pleasing in the eyes of his divine Master. The angel answered that it was, save in one particular. The king implored forgiveness for his single deficiency and begged to be informed of it. "King David," said the angel, "the Lord is not pleased with you because instead of earning money for your own use, you defray your expenses from the State treasury". The king repented of his error and corrected it. From that time onwards he paid for his food by working in his leisure moments as a blacksmith. Bearing in mind the angelic rebuke, Aurangzib met his personal expenses by embroidering caps in his leisure moments. These he sold at a moderate price to the nobles of his court and spent the sum realised on the purchase of his food. The balance, if any, he distributed in charity*.

* Musulman blacksmiths still call themselves sometimes Daudkhanis or followers of King David.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE GREAT MOGHUL OFFENSIVE
THE CAPTURE OF SAMBHAJI

A. D. 1687 TO 1689

THE closing years of Sambhaji's life have long perplexed historians. For some months he would neglect his duties, suffer his armies to disperse, and his horses and elephants to die for want of food, while he shut himself up in some fort or palace. Then he would once more appear at the head of his army and defeat the Moghul forces wherever he met them. The key to the riddle is this. Two opposing factions were ceaselessly struggling to obtain an influence over the king's mind. On the one side was Kalasha with his band of panders and harlots, trying to reduce the king to the imbecile inertness which suited their purpose. On the other side were Shivaji's old comrades, who were striving to rouse the noble and manly feelings not yet extinguished in Sambhaji's heart. Sometimes one faction, sometimes the other faction gained the victory, and the varying fortunes of the struggle were seen in the changing conduct of the king.

Early in Sambhaji's reign a remarkable incident occurred. In 1681 Raghunathpant Hanmante, the governor of Jinji, and of Shivaji's southern conquests, arrived in state to pay his respects to the new king.* With him came five thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry and a train of

*Chitnis Bakhar. Grant Duff (vol. I. p. 263) writes that after the Durbar the king released Moro Pingle and Janardanpant. But Moro Pingle had been released at the coronation. Since Janardanpant was, according to the Chitnis Bakhar present at the banquet, he had probably been released at the same time. According to Mr. Sardesai (Riyasat, vol. I, p. 580) Moro Pingle died in this year.

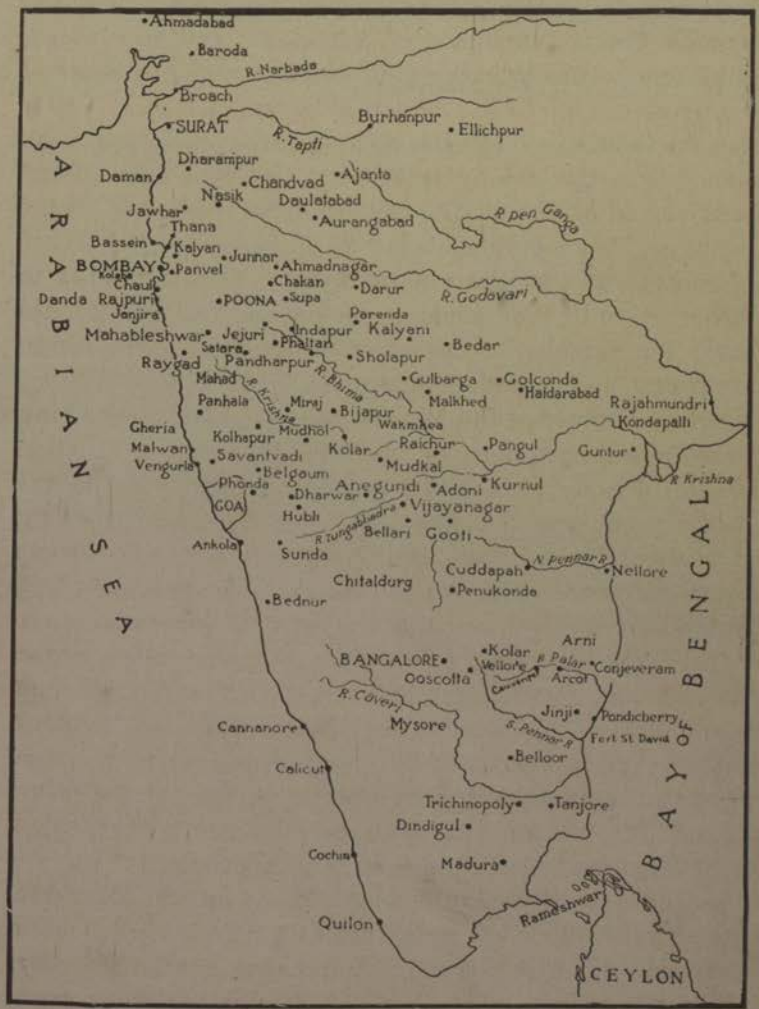
carts and elephants that carried between thirty and forty lakhs in gold coins, the surplus income of his province. Sambhaji received him in a specially prepared camp on the banks of the Birwadi river, and graciously accepted an invitation to a banquet. In return the king held a reception in Raghunathpant's honour, and invited to it the viceroy's brother, Janardanpant, the unlucky commander of the force that had invested Panhala. Among the other guests were Nilo Pingle, the Peshwa's son, Hambirrao Mohite the cavalry commander-in-chief, Netoji Palkar and Umaji Pant. After the king had thanked Raghunathpant for his care of the distant province, the latter rose to reply. But instead of the usual ceremonial words, Hanmante recited a formidable list of grievances against the new administration.

"Why," asked the daring viceroy, "was the kingdom shrinking daily? Why was the Sidi still unsubdued? Why were the peasants discontented? Why were Brahmans beheaded and not imprisoned? Why were not Sambhaji's enemies won over rather than executed? Why was the administration not in the king's hands instead of those of Kalasha?" Sambhaji bore the viceroy's rebuke with outward calmness, and merely protested that the labour and cost of the administration had grown since his father's death. But he deeply resented what he deemed Hanmante's breach of etiquette, and Kalasha did not fail to fan his resentment. Hanmante saw that it was no longer safe for him to remain at court. In a private interview he warned the king against the coming Moghul invasion, and begged him to meet it by an offensive and defensive alliance with Bijapur and Golconda. But his advice was treated with contempt; and a few days later he asked for and obtained leave to return to Jinji. On the way he fell ill and died. Nevertheless, the courage and sincerity of the viceroy were not lost on the king; and the Maratha nobles added to the strictures of Hanmante their own respectful counsel. To their advice were no doubt due the vigour and activity of Sambhaji's early years.

But Sambhaji had to fight an enemy from which his father had been free, namely, the treason of his own officers. I have already mentioned the great plot of the Shirkes. But the intrigues of Aurangzib and the intense dislike felt by the Marathas for Kalasha were the cause of many fresh conspiracies. Salher and even Ramsej, gallantly defended though it had been against Firoz Jang and Khan Jehan, fell in the end by treachery. In November, 1684,* two thousand of Sambhaji's cavalry tried to desert to the Moghuls. They obtained leave to bathe in the Godavari, the holy river that runs past Nasik. They intended to loiter there until they could conveniently join the Moghul army. But Sambhaji received information of their design and turning back, massacred them to a man. Such treachery, instead of furthering the Maratha cause, only led the king to rely more and more on the smooth-tongued Kalasha. But the obvious peril which threatened the state on the fall of Bijapur and the siege of Golconda roused the king and enabled for the time Hambirrao Mohite to overcome the evil influence of the alien minister. In the preceding chapter I have mentioned the attacks of the Maratha horse on the army investing Golconda. But they were never pressed home; for the true Maratha policy was to prolong and not raise the siege. By lengthening the arduous campaign the Marathas would gain for themselves freedom to overrun the southern provinces of Bijapur and thereby increase in size and in resources the sanctuary which Shivaji's genius had made ready for his people.

In 1687 Harji Mahadik was viceroy of the Maratha possessions in the south and south-east. To Harji Mahadik Shivaji had given in marriage Ambikabai, his daughter by his first wife Saibai, and Sambhaji's full sister. After the great southern campaign Harji Mahadik was made governor of the fort of Jinji. On Raghunathpant Hanmante's death Sambhaji raised Harji Mahadik to the post of viceroy of the south. Vyankoji, Shivaji's half brother and Raja of

*Orme, p. 180.



MAP OF SOUTHERN INDIA

Tanjore had on Shivaji's death repudiated the suzerainty of the Maratha king and as Sikandar Shah's vassal had sent forces to aid him during the siege of Bijapur. Not only that, but he and his son Shahaji had added several of Shivaji's conquests to the State of Tanjore. To safeguard his possessions in southern India and above all the great fort of Jinji, Sambhaji in June 1687 sent to reinforce Harji Mahadik a body of twelve thousand horse under the command of Keshav Pingle, Moro Pingle's brother, and a Maratha officer named Santaji Ghorpade. The latter was a distant connexion of the Ghorpade whose treachery to Shahaji was so terribly avenged by Shahaji's son. Mudhol was the fief of that branch of the Ghorpades. Another branch had established themselves at Kapshi and Mhaloji Ghorpade of Kapshi was the contemporary and friend of Shivaji whom he outlived for nine years. He died in Sambhaji's defence as captain of his guards. Mhaloji left three sons, Santaji, Bahirji and Maloji, and all three served in the armies of the great king. Santaji and Bahirji won distinction by taking Colar, Gajendragad and other strong places in the Carnatic. As their reward they received Gajendragad in fief. Kalasha had insinuated to Sambhaji that Harji Mahadik wished to make himself independent. Sambhaji, therefore, advised Keshav Pingle and Santaji Ghorpade to arrest Harji Mahadik and seize and hold Jinji in the king's name. Harji Mahadik harboured no disloyal feelings towards one, who was at once his brother-in-law and master. But his agents at court had warned him of the royal intention and he naturally regarded with dislike the commanders sent to reinforce him. Instead of co-operating with them cordially, he spent several weeks in strengthening his hold over Jinji fortress. The emperor who had learnt alike of the despatch of the troops and of the dissensions between the Maratha leaders, sent a force to attack Bangalore, still in Maratha hands. The straits to which Bangalore was soon reduced led Harji Mahadik and Keshav Pingle to forget their jealousies and march to its

relief. But in August, 1687, it fell before the relieving army reached it. Harji Mahadik retired to Jinji and sent Keshav Pingle and Santaji Ghorpade with eighteen thousand horse to invade Mysore.

After the battle of Talikot in 1564 and the subsequent break-up of the Vijayanagar kingdom the viceroy of Mysore had made himself an independent ruler, and had recently grown greatly in power. Harji Mahadik's design was to reduce Mysore to a Maratha possession while the Moghuls were still engaged in the siege of Golconda. But before he could achieve anything the military situation entirely changed. The fall of the beleaguered fortress had freed the Moghul army to conquer southern India. Nor was the emperor slow to profit by his success. Six thousand Moghul horse under Asad Khan seized the country from Masulipatam to the Palar river. The Golconda viceroy at Cuddapa on the north Pennar river at once accepted service under the conqueror. Nor were the Hindu governors of Canjeveram and Punamali less ready to secure their posts by changing sides. The latter, indeed, justified his conduct by a picturesque illustration. "The world", he said, "was constantly turning on its axis and altering the side which it presented to the sun. It was, therefore, not strange that an inhabitant of the world should follow so excellent an example." The Moghul successes produced among the Maratha leaders quarrels and despondency. Harji Mahadik recalled Keshav Pingle and ordered him to invade the countries on the eastern coast between the North Pennar and the Palar rivers and to drive out the Moghul garrisons and partisans. Keshav Pingle refused to obey Harji Mahadik's orders. So Mahadik with great daring sent instead, a part of the Jinji garrison. The governor of Punamali true to his principle, once more revolved on his axis and owned Sambhaji as his suzerain. The rest of the province followed suit and the small Maratha force without difficulty collected the revenues of Punamali, Arcot and Canjeveram.

At the same time Sambhaji had not been idle. After the fall of Bijapur he had obtained a great accession of valuable troops. Aurangzib received coldly the Maratha leaders in the Bijapur service. On the other hand, the Daphles, the Manes, the Ghatges, the Nimbalkars, who had loyally stood by the falling dynasty had no wish to serve under the treacherous and bigoted emperor. They therefore brought to the Maratha king their skill and experience and their considerable feudal contingents. His army thus reinforced, Sambhaji swept through the Bijapur provinces south of Panhala, and before the end of 1687 had reduced a hundred and twenty strong places and important towns. Nor did Keshav Pingle long remain mutinous. Ashamed at Harji Mahadik's easy success, and fearing the just reprimand of his indignant master, he took Santaji with him into the conquered seaboard. They occupied it with their troops and enabled Harji Mahadik to recall his garrison to Jinji.

Thus at the end of 1687 Aurangzib realised that his gigantic efforts to subdue Bijapur and Golconda had added to Sambhaji's possessions, provinces as large as he had added to his own. Losing for once his self-control, the emperor vowed in a passion that he would not return to Delhi until he had seen Sambhaji's bleeding head weltering at his feet*. Nor was he long content with mere threats of vengeance. In February 1688 twelve thousand Moghul horse and a large number of local levies under Mahomed Sidik entered the Carnatic sea-board to drive out the Marathas. On their approach the Marathas retired from Canjeveram to a line of forts on both sides of the Palar river and the Moghuls occupied Punamali and Wandewash. The Moghul commander deemed it useless to besiege the Maratha strongholds. On the other hand, the Maratha commanders feared a pitched battle with the victorious Moghul cavalry. So both armies avoided each other and contented themselves with ravaging the countryside and

*Orme, p. 201.

robbing and torturing the unfortunate peasantry. While Aurangzib thus neutralised the Maratha successes in the south-east, he did not overlook the advantages of carrying war into the enemy's country. In December 1687 he sent Sarja Khan, a Bijapur officer, who had joined the Moghuls, to recover the western provinces of Bijapur. At first successful, Sarja Khan recovered the open country and penetrated the Krishna valley as far as Wai. There his army met the fate that had befallen Afzul Khan's. Hambirrao Mohite sent by Sambhaji to oppose Sarja Khan drew him into the dense forests round Mahableshwar and after a fierce struggle gained a decisive victory. But severe as the disaster was to the Moghuls, the victorious Marathas suffered an even greater loss. Among those slain in the battle of Wai was the gallant Hambirrao Mohite. The warworn cavalry leader added to skilful generalship an intimate knowledge of the Deccan and Konkan hills. On the battle-field the sound of the veteran's voice was worth fifty squadrons. In the council chamber he alone ventured to beard the infamous Kalasha or recall to his master a fitting sense of his exalted duties. Had Hambirrao lived, it is probable that with his hold firmly established on Jinji and with the resources of much of southern India at his command, Sambhaji would have repelled the Moghul offensive. But on Hambirrao Mohite's death Kalasha became all powerful and Sambhaji became more and more a slave to profligacy and intemperance; and the effects of the king's vice and sloth were soon visible in the disasters of his armies.

The Moghul troops recovered the Bijapur and Golconda provinces recently occupied by the Marathas, including Punamali, of which the volatile governor, completing his revolutions, adhered finally to the Moghul cause. At the same time Aurangzib's armies issuing from their head-quarters at Bijapur swept through the Maratha Deccan and reduced Shivaji's line of fortresses between Tathavda and Panhala. It is interesting to note that in this campaign

an outburst of bubonic plague caused severe loss to the imperial army.* It had been imported from Ahmadabad and Surat, but it disappeared when the emperor moved his camp from Bijapur to Akluj in the Sholapur district. Aurangzib resolved to take one after the other the Maratha strongholds above the Sahyadris. Nevertheless so long as Sambhaji remained at Raygad the emperor's successes could not be decisive. That was the heart of the Maratha kingdom. Therein lay Shivaji's treasures, his trophies and his relics. It was there that the Maratha leaders gathered to worship the departed hero. So long as the Maratha sovereign dwelt at Raygad the Maratha spirit would live and the embers of Maratha independence burn unextinguished. Raygad, if properly defended, was impregnable. The giant crag rising out of the Konkan to a height of nearly four thousand feet defied alike the Moghul engineers and the imperial artillery. But in the rainy season the climate of Raygad is unpleasant. The monsoon bursts over it with exceptional violence and from June to September its summit is veiled in fog and mist. To Kalasha born and bred in the Gangetic valley, its climate was peculiarly repellent. He therefore induced Sambhaji in the summer of 1688 to exchange the shelter of Raygad for the comforts of Sangameshwar,† a small township twenty miles north of Vishalgad and twenty-two miles north-east of Ratnagiri. It is built at the 'sangam' or junction of the Alaknanda and Varuna rivers and as the name implies, is sacred to the god Shiva. There Kalasha had built himself a palace surrounded by beautiful gardens and for the summer months he placed it at the king's disposal. The family mansion of the Sardesais§ was offered him for the rainy season. Trusting to the forests that lay between Sangameshwar and the Moghul forces, Sambhaji passed

* Khafi Khan.

† Place names ending in 'eshwar' imply that the spot is sacred to the god Shiva.

§ See appendix.

the monsoon of 1688 in an orgy of every kind of intemperance. Nor would any evil result have ensued, had he amended his ways when the rains died down. But the minister, unwilling to return to Raygad, artfully detained his master by the constant addition of new beauties to his zenana. At last he induced Sambhaji to seize the comely bride of a Maratha noble on the way to join her husband.* Thereafter it is probable that he persuaded his master to linger on at Sangameshwar until the storm raised by his act had abated. However this may be, the ill-fated king instead of returning in September to his impregnable stronghold lingered on in Sangameshwar until the last days of December 1688. This delay proved his ruin.

Among the nobles who, during the siege of Golconda deserted king Abu Hussein was Shaikh Nizam Haidarabadi.§ As a soldier he had a high reputation and as the reward of his treachery, he received the command of five thousand horse. His son Iklas Khan was made a commander of four thousand. In the cold weather of 1688 father and son were sent by Aurangzib to besiege Panhala. Another force under Firoz Jang was sent to take the fortresses round Raygad and after isolating that fortress, to reduce it by famine. But Shaikh Nizam was an enterprising soldier and hearing reports of Sambhaji's inactivity at Sangameshwar, he conceived the daring plan of seizing the king in his own chosen hiding place. He first secured hillmen who knew the paths through the wild forests that surround it. Then starting from Kolhapur with his son Iklas Khan, his nephews and two or three thousand horsemen, he rode at full speed for Sangameshwar. Where the paths were too steep for the horses, their riders alighted, but they rested only so long as was needed to save their animals from exhaustion. Behind the raiding party followed at a more leisurely pace, two thousand horse and a thousand trained

*Orme, p. 107.

§Khafi Khan and Scott's Deccan. His other name was Makanab Khan not Tukurrib Khan as given by Grant Duff.

infantry. They were Shaikh Nizam's supports in case the scheme failed. It was impossible that so large a force should entirely escape notice, and on the morning of the 28th December scouts brought to the king word that a body of Moghul horse were approaching at full gallop. But Sambhaji was sleeping off the previous night's debauch and referred him to Kalasha. "Kalasha is a magician," said the drunken king, "and he will by his magic destroy our enemies." The scouts tried in vain to make the king realise his danger; but Sambhaji losing all patience drove them from his room, threatening to cut off their noses, if they told him any more wild tales of Moghul horsemen. The scouts went to the officers of the king's guard. They saw Shaikh Nizam only a mile or so away and implored the king to dress, promising him that they would cut a way for him to the shelter of Raygad. But nothing could rouse Sambhaji from his drunken stupor. Little time was now left; for the Moghul squadrons were circling round the village or galloping at breakneck pace through the streets to the palace. Some Maratha officers, despairing of their king, took flight and succeeded in reaching Raygad. Others faithful unto death remained by their master.* When Shaikh Nizam saw fugitives leaving Sangameshwar, he sent on Iklas Khan and his fastest troops with a letter in which he offered to enter into negotiations with the king. By this ruse Shaikh Nizam hoped to detain Sambhaji until he could arrive with the main body. But no ruse was needed. The king slumbered on, heedless alike of war or peace. Iklas Khan presented his letter to the sentries; but learning that the king was still inside the palace, he forced his way in. Such guards as resisted were at once cut down. Kalasha shewed unsuspected courage. He fought until an arrow pierced his right arm, when he fell to the ground. Sambhaji whom his attendants had forced to mount his horse, immediately dismounted

*Among those who died fighting for Sambhaji was Mhaloji Ghorpade, the captain of his guards and father of Santaji Ghorpade.

and carried Kalasha to a little temple of Shiva attached to the palace. There the king, as his father had done at Mathura, tried to escape in the guise of a Shivaite ascetic. The priests had the king's hair and beard rapidly shaved and smeared him with ashes. There was, however, no time for the king to conceal his ornaments; and when Iklas Khan saw on this strange ascetic a pearl necklace, he at once seized his person. On Shaikh Nizam's arrival Sambhaji admitted his identity. He was put in chains and when the supports arrived he was seated on an elephant alongside of Shaikh Nizam. Other elephants carried Kalasha and the remaining prisoners taken by the raiders and the victorious procession started for the emperor's camp. (28th December 1688.) 1 Feb 1689

APPENDIX

The date of Sambhaji's capture is a controversial question and has been very ably discussed by Mr. Pandurang Narsing Patwardhan. Grant Duff has not given the date of Sambhaji's capture, but he has given as the date of his execution the beginning of August 1689. Grant Duff, however, did not arrive at this date by independent enquiry. He followed Orme. In Note lxxviii to his "Historical fragments of the Moghul Empire" Orme has given his reasons. A letter written by the Government of Madras to the Company at home, dated the 20th July, 1689, makes no mention of Sambhaji's death. But the abstract of a letter dated August 27th contains the following:—

"Have news from the Moors' camp, their forces had surprized Sambhaji, brought him prisoner to the Moghul: was mounted on a camel, his eyes put out and beheaded; his quarters dispersed as a traitor."

If twenty days be allowed for the coming of the news Sambhaji must have been taken at the end of June or the beginning of July. If it be assumed that the Madras Government did not at once write to the Company on receiving the news, Sambhaji was probably executed towards the end of July or the beginning of August. With all respect to that eminent historian, his reasoning, able though it be, is more or less in the nature of surmise. Against it we have the date of Sambhaji's capture given by the Maisur-i-Alamgiri as the 28th December (see footnote to p. 312, vol. II Storia do Mogor). This date finds support in the climate of Sangameshwar. The country round Vishalgad would in August be impossible to cavalry. The rainfall in August is extremely heavy and the forest paths are raging torrents. The king, therefore, must have been captured some time in the cold weather. Mr. Sarkar (vol. LV., p. 401) finds that he was captured as late as the end of January, 1689. The real date appears to have been 28th December 1689. (See Burgess, p. 132.)

The residence of Sambhaji in the house of the Sardesais is established by the letter 289 of vol. 20 of Mr. Rajwade's collection. It is a letter written by one of the Sardesais, the family who owned the village of Sangameshwar and the house where Sambhaji was later. Long after the occurrence a question arose whether the house was their private property or state property, and in this letter Sardesai claimed that the house was his. The letter contains this important passage:—

"Our mansion at Sangameshwar is an hereditary property. His Highness the late Sambhaji of blessed memory, when harassed by the Moghuls and misled by Kabji (Kalasha) went to Sangameshwar. His Highness passed the summer of *Shake* 1610 near our mansion, then the rainy season passed. Afterwards there was a great disturbance everywhere. Seeing that our mansion was a spacious building His Highness, after consulting us, occupied it. Two and a half months later Shaikh Nizam, subedar of the Moghuls, seized him".

CHAPTER XXIX

THE GREAT MOGHUL OFFENSIVE
DEATH OF SAMBHAJI AND REGENCY OF RAJARAM

A. D. 1689

As soon as he found leisure, Shaikh Nizam sent a formal despatch to Aurangzib, informing him of his brilliant feat of arms. But the news had already been conveyed by news writers to the imperial camp. Everywhere there was immense rejoicing. The regular troops looked forward to a speedy peace and a triumphant return to the capital. The Rajput contingents hoped that they would soon see again the wild plains of Jodhpur or those gloomy fastnesses in the Aravallis from which chief after chief of Udaipur had defied successfully the Moghul arms. The nobles of Bijapur and Golconda, now officers in the imperial service looked forward to the enjoyment of the fiefs acquired by their recent treachery. The wretched peasantry hoped that after years of warfare they would for a time, at any rate, get a breathing space in which to repair the havoc caused by the contending armies. During the five days that it took Shaikh Nizam to go from Sangameshwar to Akluj* the countryside hardly slept at all, so busy were they celebrating the success and getting ready a welcome for the hero who had achieved it. Nor was the emperor niggardly in the bestowal of honours. He sent to a point four miles from Akluj a large body of troops to escort in

*Khafi Khan. Akluj is on the north of the river Nira. Grant Duff writes that the emperor had by this time moved to Tulapur. Scott's Deccan gives Bahadurgad. The Maratha chroniclers do not give the place where the emperor first saw Sambhaji. They mention Tulapur as the place of execution. I think that Khafi Khan is right and that Akluj was the spot to which Sambhaji was first taken. The emperor shortly afterwards moved to Tulapur.

SHAIKH NIZAM HYDRABADI

[*To face page* 54]

triumph the general and his prisoners. As the procession neared the camp, it passed through densely crowded lanes and streets, while a vast multitude of both sexes gazed from the roofs on the spectacle of successful daring and fallen majesty.

The events of the last few days had sobered the king; and free from the fumes of wine and the evil influence of Kalasha, he recovered the courage with which nature had abundantly endowed him. With undaunted brow he returned the gaze of the spectators and met their gibes and jeers with scornful indifference. (Once or twice he begged the Rajput soldiers whom he passed to kill him and so spare him further humiliation.) But though they pitied deeply Sambhaji's condition, they yet feared more deeply still the wrath of the inexorable emperor. Aurangzib had summoned a durbar and into the assembly room filled with the captains of Delhi and the nobles of Rajasthan, Sambhaji and Kalasha were brought. As they entered, Aurangzib descended from his throne and humbly bowed his head, to shew his gratitude to the Almighty. Kalasha profited by the occasion to display a wit and courage, that half redeemed his honour. His hands were so tightly bound that he could not stir them. His head was so fastened that he could not move it. Nevertheless he succeeded in catching his master's eye and quoted to him a Hindi couplet of which the meaning was as follows:—

"O Raja, at the sight of thee King Alamgir (the official title of Aurangzib) cannot keep his seat, but has perforce descended from it to do thee honour."

The emperor had not as yet determined the fate of his captives. He ordered their removal to prison and turned to the more pleasing task of rewarding their captors. He gave Shaikh Nizam the titles of Khan Jaman (the chief of the time) and Fateh Jang (the victorious in battle). He bestowed on him an immediate grant of Rs. 50,000 and a horse and an elephant from the imperial stables; and he raised his command from one of five thousand to one of

six thousand horse. Iklas Khan was promoted from a command of four thousand to one of five thousand, and all Shaikh Nizam's nephews who had taken part in the expedition received rewards. For some weeks after the Durbar the emperor discussed the situation with his leading advisers. They pressed Aurangzib to spare Sambhaji's life, on condition that he ordered his officers to surrender the fortresses still held by the Marathas. At first Aurangzib seems to have inclined to this merciful course, foreign though it was to his nature. But Sambhaji steadily refused to accept these shameful terms. With a courage unsurpassed by his father, he told the imperial messengers that he did not trust the emperor's word and that even were it kept, he for his part preferred death to lifelong captivity. At last, weary of their importunity, he broke out into passionate abuse both of the emperor and of the prophet whom he revered. When his speech was reported to Aurangzib, the emperor gladly made it an excuse to reject the humane suggestions of his nobles. He moved his camp to Tulapur, a town sixteen miles north-east of Poona, built near the spot where the Indryani river flows into the Bhima. It was at one time known as Nangargaon but was changed by Shahaji, Shivaji's father, to Tulapur, or the place of weighing. One day, so the story runs, Shahaji wished to weigh an elephant belonging to his friend, Murar Jagdev, the minister of Bijapur.* The latter had made a vow to distribute in charity the weight in silver of his riding elephant. In vain the learned men of the Adil Shahi court racked their brains to devise a pair of scales strong enough to bear the animal. Shahaji's ingenious mind solved the problem. He put the elephant in a flat bottomed boat on the Indryani river. Marking the waterline on the boat he had the beast removed and the boat filled with stones, until it again sank to the former waterline. Lastly removing the stones he weighed

*See vol. 1, p. 143 and Wilkes' Mysore, vol. 1., p. 156.

them and thus correctly, if laboriously, ascertained the weight of Murar Jagdev's elephant.

The emperor resolved to make Tulapur memorable to the Maratha people by a spectacle far more terrible than the weighing of an elephant. He had Sambhaji and his favourite Kalasha dressed in the garb of wandering anchorites. In their hands they carried rattles and on their heads were caps sewn with bells. They were then tied on camels with their faces to the tail. In this guise they were led in triumph through the market place of Tulapur. After he had feasted his eyes on the degradation of his enemy, the emperor sent Sambhaji a message that even yet he would spare his life if he accepted Islam. Sambhaji, fearless to the last, met insult with insult. He replied scornfully that if the emperor gave him in marriage his daughter, he would turn Musulman, but not otherwise. To this reply he added several words in praise of the god Shiva and in foul scorn of Mahomed. On learning Sambhaji's answer, Aurangzib determined to give full rein to his vindictive temper. He had Sambhaji brought beneath his throne and there ordered his tongue to be cut out as a punishment for his blasphemy. His eyes were gouged out of their sockets by the court surgeon. His heart was torn out, his limbs separated from his body and all save his head thrown as food to the village dogs of Tulapur.* After Sambhaji, Kalasha and the other prisoners were tortured to death. Finally the heads of the king and his minister were stuffed with straw and paraded by beat of drum in all the chief cities of the Deccan. (11th March 1689.)†

So died at the age of 32 the eldest son of Shivaji. The misfortunes of his reign are chiefly to be traced to his own treason to his father. But for that the great king would never have been estranged from him. Nor would Soyarabai and her Shirke kinsmen have dared to plot

* Orme: the Shedgavkar Bakhar; Khafi Khan.

† Burgess gives the date as 14th March 1689.

his supersession by Rajaram. Their sedition led him to trust Kalasha rather than his own subjects and in the end enslaved him to a lewd and scheming priest. Maratha chroniclers have painted Sambhaji as a monster of iniquity. But the king was not that; and in other circumstances his career might have been very different. Although he spent most of his life campaigning, he was by no means averse from study. He employed a learned man called Keshav Pandit Adhyaksh, a friend of the great king, to read with him Valmiki's celebrated epic the Ramayan. As a reward, he gave Keshav in 1684 A. D. sixteen hundred small silver coins known as ladis. The king was moreover no mean versifier. He is known to have written two books of Hindi poetry. The first was called Nakhshikh, in which he described the pleasures of love. The second was named Nayakabhad. In it he sang the varying charms of the beauties who beguiled his leisure moments. His excesses, both in wine and women, never blinded him wholly to the claims of religion. In a letter, written in 1688 A. D., which is still extant, he rebuked severely a subedar, for trying to extort money from the temple of Morya Gosavi at Chinchwad. "What need have you," wrote the angry king to his subordinate, "to raise trouble in the village of Chinchwad? How can the king suffer such conduct? If you continue in your evil courses, there will be no forgiveness for you. He who raises trouble like this will die at the king's hands."

In caste matters Sambhaji had the liberal views of the soldier. A certain Brahman, by name Gangadhar Rangnath, Kulkarni of Harsul, was in the service of the Moghuls. Incurring their displeasure, he was forcibly converted to Islam and compelled to eat and drink with his new coreligionists. After his conversion he was again restored to favour and raised to high office. In course of time he amassed a fortune, but as he grew old he wished to re-enter the faith of his ancestors. He abandoned his wealth to his oppressors and making his way to Raygad, he begged

Sambhaji to help him. To the strictly orthodox Gangadhar Rangnath had sinned beyond hope of pardon. But Sambhaji by using his influence induced the priesthood to prescribe a penance by which he might once more become a Brahman. The penance prescribed was no light one. The unhappy pervert was ordered to walk three hundred and sixty times round a holy mountain and make two pilgrimages to distant shrines. Gangadhar Rangnath, however, performed the penance. The king thereafter obtained the signatures of a number of leading Brahmans to a document, that pronounced the sinner to be pure and declared that any who doubted his purity was himself guilty of an offence, not only against the Brahmans, but against the gods themselves.*

That Sambhaji committed grave faults cannot be denied; yet great as they were, his punishment was greater still; and when the Maratha leaders heard of his cruel execution of his dauntless bearing in the face of torture, of the courage with which he had silently borne hideous torments, all resentment against the king left their breasts. They remembered only the gallant youth who had seized Janardanpant at Panhala, had defeated Alvor at Phonda and had hunted from the Konkan the shattered army of Shah Alam.

To decide what steps should now be taken, the Maratha leaders assembled at Raygad. Sambhaji had left a widow Yesubai and a son Shivaji. Yesubai like Soyarabai was a daughter of the patrician house of Shirke. Her maiden name had been Jiubai, which she changed according to Hindu custom on her marriage. Her father was Pilaji Shirke. She was married to Sambhaji in December 1667 shortly after the prince's return from Delhi. Her son Shivaji had been born in December 1680 (Margshirsh Sud 10, 1602), shortly after Sambhaji's accession; and in honour of his birth Sambhaji had given large sums in charity and had completed the dam of a lake left unfinished by his

* Rajvade's Itihasachi Sadhane, vol. V.

father. Yesubai with prince Shivaji at her side presided at the council and round her sat a group of men, whose names were in the next few years to become immortal. Santaji Ghorpade's origin has already been related. Next to him sat Dhanaji Jadav, a cousin of the prince. In 1629, as it will be remembered*, Lakhaji Jadav the father of Jijabai, was assassinated at Daulatabad at the order of Murtaza Nizam Shah the second. With him perished his son, Achaloji. Achaloji left an infant son named Santaji whom Jijabai adopted as her own. He grew up the companion of Sambhaji, Shivaji's eldest brother and fell with him before the walls of Kanakgiri. Santaji left a son called Shambhusing whom Shivaji brought up. Shambhusing's only son was the renowned Dhanaji Jadav. He was already distinguished by his courage and soldierly talents and had won the praise and esteem of Prataprao Guzar. Beyond Dhanaji sat Khanderao Dabhade. He was the son of Yeshpatil Dabhade† a small landowner of Talegaon Dabhade, a village on the road between Poona and Bombay. Yeshpatil had for some years been the personal attendant of Shivaji and afterwards of Rajaram. Yeshpatil's two sons, Khanderao and Shivaji first entered the service of the royal family; then they received commands in the army. Shivaji afterwards lost his life in saving Rajaram's. Khanderao Dabhade lived to conquer Guzarat.

Beyond the martial faces of the Maratha captains could be seen the thoughtful brows of the Brahman and Prabhu statesmen. Hanmante was there, now fully restored to the royal favour. Beyond him sat Pralhad Niraji, the son of Niraji Ravaji, Shivaji's Sar Nyayadhish or Chief Justice. Beyond him again were Khando Ballal Chitnis and Ramchandra Nilkanth Bavdekar. Khando Ballal was the younger son of Balaji Avaji Chitnis, the great king's private secretary. His father and his elder brother had at Sambhaji's orders been trampled to death under the

* See vol. I., p. 124.

† Dabhade Bakhar.

feet of an elephant. Khando and his brother Nilo were then children. Their lives were spared, but they were confined and their property confiscated. They found a friend in Sambhaji's queen Yesubai. She pitied the orphans' fallen state. Her prayers induced Sambhaji to release them, but Kalasha's malice prevented the return of their property. The kindly queen supported the children from her own private purse. Her generosity effaced from Khando Ballal's mind the memory of the king's injustice and his life was spent in the royal service. During the siege of Goa he saved Sambhaji from drowning, and in return received his father's office of Chitnis or private secretary. Nilo who feared Sambhaji's vindictive temper, left, as soon as he could, the court for Jinji and took service with Harji Raje Mahadik, a fast friend of Balaji Avaji.

Ramchandra Nilkanth Bavdekar was the Pant Amatya or finance minister. He came of a family, who for four generations had served the house of Bhosle. His great-grandfather Noropant had served Maloji. His grandfather Sono or Sondev Narayan had been left with Jijibai at Shivner by Shahaji, when he himself went south in the service of the king of Bijapur. Sondev Narayan's two sons Nilkanth and Abaji had been the lifelong companions of Shivaji. In 1644 Nilkanth had distinguished himself in the capture of Tala and Gossala and in 1647 Shivaji had made him his muzumdar or the head of his finances. To the younger brother Abaji Shivaji had entrusted the expedition that achieved the capture of Kalyan from Mulana Ahmad. Nilkanth died in 1672 A. D. and on his death Shivaji promoted his eldest son Naropant to be muzumdar in his father's place. But the young man's mind turned rather to the future than the present. Much as the great king respected him, he could not keep an anchorite as his finance minister. At his coronation the king transferred the charge from Naropant to his younger brother Ramchandra. He altered his title from Muzumdar to its

Sanskrit equivalent Amatya. That office Ramchandra had held with distinction through Sambhaji's troubled reign to the present time.

Deeply incensed at the cruelties inflicted on the dead king, none present thought of making peace with the Moghuls. The first question discussed was which member of the Bhosle house was best fitted to succeed Sambhaji and avenge his death. Should prince Shivaji be crowned and Yesubai appointed regent? Should Shivaji be crowned and Rajaram appointed regent? Yesubai herself suggested a solution of the problem. "Let there be no coronation ceremony," she said, "but let Shivaji be considered king and Rajaram regent." This question decided, the council debated on the plan of campaign. Pralhad Niraji's weighty eloquence won alike the minds of the statesmen and the soldiers. Discipline should be at once restored to the army, and Shivaji's regulations as to the deposit of all plunder in the royal treasury, strictly enforced. The forts should be re-armed with artillery and their walls repaired. They should be amply provisioned and strongly garrisoned. While the Moghuls wasted their time in sieges, a field army should be formed by local levies and reinforcements from the Carnatic. Let Rajaram command the army, while Yesubai and prince Shivaji remained behind the impregnable defences of Raygad.'

When Pralhad's plan had been approved, Rajaram rose to address the queen and her council. He had been born in 1661 and was thus in his twenty-ninth year, but the great king was ten years younger when he planned the liberation of the Maratha people. (In every quality save experience, Rajaram was eminently fitted to bear the mighty burden now placed upon his shoulders.) His person was noble and commanding, his manners courteous and pleasing. From the accession of Sambhaji and the failure of Soyarabai's plot, he had lived a prisoner in Raygad His confinement had been neither close nor harsh. But

snares lay all around him and his every word was reported to his jealous brother. A single false step would have ruined him, but like his contemporary, William of Nassau, he learned so to bridle his tongue, that it never disclosed the secrets of his heart. A captive during adolescence, he was not exposed to the temptations that ruined Sambhaji. Thus when called upon to save his father's kingdom, he brought to his task a cautious, discerning mind, a vigour unimpaired by vice and a spirit that no danger could appal, no disaster dismay.

Part of Rajaram's speech has been preserved.* He begged his hearers to abandon any resentment that they still might have against the dead king. Let their thoughts dwell on Shivaji rather than on his son, and let them transfer to the young prince all the love and loyalty which they or their fathers had once felt for the great king. For, in truth, their young sovereign was the reincarnation of the dead hero. Had not Shivaji foretold that he would be born again as Yesubai's son?† Had not Bhavani told Shivaji that his namesake would rule long and gloriously and conquer all India from Attock to Rameshwaram? "I am but the prince's servant;" continued Rajaram, "you must, it is true, give me your obedience, but your loyalty and devotion you must keep for my master. Do but this and I am confident that we shall not only save the kingdom, but bring to pass the prophecy of the goddess". With these inspiring words he bound himself by an oath to serve the prince diligently and faithfully. The other councillors did likewise and left the council chamber. That evening Rajaram and his two wives left Raygad. He had been first married to Jankibai, a daughter of Prataprao Gujar, but she had died in giving birth to a daughter named Soyarabai, afterwards the wife of Bajaji Nimbalkar of Phaltan. Thereafter Rajaram married two ladies, one the famous Tarabai, the daughter of Hambirrao Mohite;

* Chitnis Bakhar.

† This prophecy is to be found at the end of the Sabhasad Bakhar.

the other Rajasbai, daughter of Ghatge of Kagal. With Rajaram went Pralhad Niraji, Khando Ballal Chitnis, Santaji Ghorpade, Dhanaji Jadav and Khanderao Dabhade. Before descending the sides of the steep cliff, Rajaram paid a last visit to Yesubai. They had always been attached to each other and Yesubai's kindness had done much to soften the rigours of Rajaram's prison. He laid his head at her feet and his voice broke. But the brave lady sternly repressed her own sorrow, and, placing her hand on Rajaram's head, said to him, "There is no cause for grief. Victory will surely be yours and you will reconquer your father's kingdom". Rajaram rose, embraced prince Shivaji, and said farewell.

Just as Shivaji would have done, Rajaram first went to Pratapgad to invoke the blessing of Bhavani. But as he went, he inspected the fortresses that lay on the road and had them provisioned and armed. Everywhere the garrisons hailed with enthusiasm his advent. The charm of his address won all their hearts and from his name men drew a fortunate omen. Through the countryside the saying ran that just as in olden times Raja Ram of Ayodhya had conquered the demons of Lanka, so the new Raja Ram would drive from the land the demons of Delhi. At Pratapgad the prince prostrated himself before Bhavani's image and prayed earnestly for her benediction. When he had ended his prayer, so the story runs, a handful of flowers fell from the goddess' hand upon the young man's head. The prince, confident that he had been vouchsafed a sign, gathered the flowers and left Pratapgad filled with fresh hopes. His next visit was to Ramdas' shrine at Parali. Ramdas had died in 1681 and after his death Sambhaji had erected on the summit of Parali a shrine in his honour. He had also allotted money for an *utsav* or religious festival, from the first to the tenth of the dark half of the Hindu month of Magh, in remembrance of the saint's death. The conduct of the festival he had assigned to Akka, a child widow, whom Ramdas had taken as a disciple. Akka

received the prince and led him to the shrine, where lay exposed for worship the sandals worn by the saint. Beneath them Rajaram prayed to the dead man's spirit to give him counsel no less precious than that which during his life he had given to the great king. Here again, so it is said, flowers fell on the prince as a token that his prayer had been heard. Akka picked them up and put them with a cocoanut into Rajaram's hands. Sure now of the goddess' help and the saint's advice, the prince bent all his energies to the task before him.*

* Chitnis Bakhar and Ramdas Charitra. The festival to Ramdas begun by Sambhaji is still observed. Ramdas died on the 9th of the dark half, *Magh. Shake* 1603.

APPENDIX I

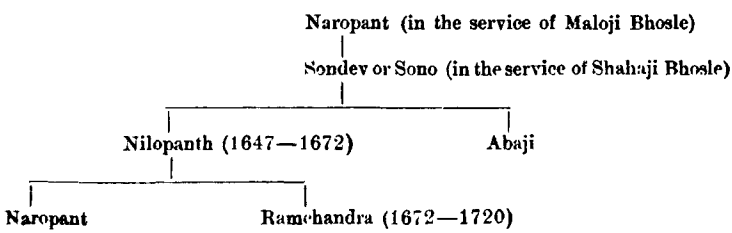
Letter written at Sambhaji's orders to Krishnaji Dada Deshpande. It gives an insight into the frank, impetuous character of Sambhaji.

"As a watandar, it was your duty to be faithful to the master whose salt you had eaten so long; yet you joined the Moghuls when they came here a short time ago. But your brother Shivaji who has also joined the Moghuls is your enemy. Thus you had better have stayed with the king. You would thereby have shewn your good faith and loyalty. Still it matters not. Stay with the Moghuls if you still want to do so. Who cares what you do? But remember that whenever we decide to do so, we shall cut you and the Moghuls, your friends, to pieces in no time. If you really should care to join the king, do not send messages to the commandants of our forts. We cannot permit this. If you have any message to send us, send it direct. We shall then consider what you say and issue orders as we think fit. Do not write to other people, address us in person."

Parasnis Papers, quoted in the Riyasat.

APPENDIX II

The following is the genealogical tree of Ramchandra Nilkanth Bavdekar's family as given in Mr. Sardesai Riyasat II, p. 607.



CHAPTER XXX

THE GREAT MOGHUL OFFENSIVE
THE CAPTURE OF RAYGAD AND THE FLIGHT OF RAJARAM

A. D. 1689 TO 1690

UPON Sambhaji's death the emperor regarded the conquest of the Deccan as all but completed. He discharged numbers of his Hindu soldiers, who at once flocked round Rajaram's standard. Nevertheless Aurangzib did not mean to return to Delhi until Raygad had fallen. He sent Itikad Khan*, a son of his prime minister Asad Khan, with heavy guns and a large army to reduce it. A daring plan occurred to the fertile mind of Santaji Ghorpade. The talents of Ramchandra, the finance minister, had enabled him to equip an army of forty thousand men. This force was under the immediate command of Dhanaji Jadav. It was, however, too small to achieve anything in open battle against the innumerable battalions of the emperor. So Santaji Ghorpade suggested that it should establish itself at Phaltan and from that base draw to itself by a series of false attacks the attention of the Moghul generals. Santaji himself with a body of horse would raid the emperor's camp at Tulapur, and if possible kill Aurangzib in the middle of his army. Dhanaji Jadav approved the plan and gave Santaji two thousand troopers with Vithoji Chavan as his second in command. Vithoji Chavan was the son of one Ranoji Chavan, who had long served under Shivaji. He fell on field service at a place called Ghalmota, leaving a baby son called Vithoji. But the Chavans were

* Manucci's Storia de Mogor, vol. II.

kinsmen of the house of Ghorpade and Maloji Ghorpade obtained for Vithoji Chavan while still a boy a charge in the army. There he won the close friendship of his cousin Santaji and on that account was now appointed his lieutenant.

Santaji and his daring band, starting at dusk, kept to the hills as far as Jejuri, the famous shrine of the god Khandoba. Then descending by the Diva pass they rested by day in the woods below the hills. At midnight they set out for Tulapur. They had ridden but six miles when they met a large body of Moghul horse. To these they explained that they were a body of Maratha cavalry, furnished by the Shirke nobles, many of whom had, after the failure of their plot, taken service under Aurangzib. Allowed to pass on, they met no further obstacle, and in the early dawn reached the imperial camp. Slipping through the sleeping sentries, they made a sudden rush at the emperor's tent. They cut the tent ropes and killed everyone inside. Luckily for Aurangzib, he was sleeping elsewhere, but the Marathas cut the gold tops off his tent poles and carried them away in triumph. Santaji Ghorpade was too prudent to return by the road he had come. He fell back on Sinhgad, then held for the young king by Sidoji Gujar, a son of Prataprao Gujar. He stayed in Sinhgad for two days. Then leaving there his wounded, he took his troopers down the Bhor Ghat and falling upon the rear of Itikad's army round Raygad, carried off five of the imperial war elephants. With this booty Santaji Ghorpade presented himself before Rajaram at Panhala. Rajaram distributed to the successful commander and his officers rich cloths and titles. To Santaji Ghorpade he gave the title of Mamlakatmadar, to his brothers Bahirji and Maloji Ghorpade the titles of Hindurao and Amir ul Umra. Vithoji Chavan was styled Himat Bahadur. Lastly prompted by Ramachandra Bavdekar, the regent appointed Santaji Ghorpade commander-in-chief in the place of the gallant Hambirrao Mohite. This raid had great indirect

RAJARAM MAHARAJ (Shivaji's younger son)

[*To face page* 68]

consequences. The raiders, it is true, failed to compass Aurangzib's death, their chief object. But the gain in the army's moral was immense and every Maratha soldier from Jinji to Raygad deemed the stroke a fortunate beginning to king Shivaji's reign. While these honours were being distributed at Panhala, Dhanaji Jadav with the main army repulsed an attack on his position at Phaltan and with some of the enemy's captured guns rejoined Santaji Ghorpade at Panhala. There he received the title of Jaysingrao, or Lion of Victory.

Unhappily this success was soon overshadowed by a terrible calamity, namely the capture of Raygad, together with king Shivaji and his mother Yesubai. Determined at all costs to take Raygad, the emperor continued to send reinforcements to Itikad Khan, who was soon able to invest Panhala as well. Rajaram who was in Panhala slipped just as his father had done, through the besieging lines and fled to Vishalgad. But fresh reinforcements enabled Itikad Khan to invest Vishalgad also and so prevent Rajaram from making any further efforts to harass the besiegers of Raygad. The great preponderance of the Moghul forces and the vigour with which the siege was conducted, affected the spirit of the defenders. At the same time Itikad Khan sent messages to Yesubai that, if the fortress surrendered, he would guarantee her safety and that of her son. Yesubai still uncertain whether or not to yield, made Itikad Khan swear on the Koran that he would protect her and Shivaji against the cruelty of the emperor. Itikad Khan did so. But before Yesubai could surrender Raygad, she was forestalled by the military governor, Suryaji Pisal. He had, or pretended to have claims to be Deshmukh or hereditary revenue officer of Wai. He sent word to Itikad Khan that if he promised to get him made Deshmukh, he would throw open the gates of Raygad. Itikad Khan gave his promise and secured the fortress 19th October, 1689*. He

* This is the date given by Sardesai vol. I., p. 617. Burgess gives the date as 28th October. (Muharram 15 H. 1101.)

kept his word both to Yesubai and to Suryaji Pisal. The latter Itikad Khan took to the emperor and asked him to give Suryaji Pisal the price of his treachery. Aurangzib received him graciously, but insisted upon his adopting Islam. Suryaji did so, and was made Deshmukh of Wai; but he lived to regret his infamy. Eighteen years later Shahu returned from Delhi. One of his first acts was to put to death Suryaji Pisal and several of his family in revenge for the long captivity which he had himself endured.*

The sworn faith of Itikad Khan would hardly have shielded Yesubai and her son had she not found a friend in the emperor's second daughter Zinatunnissa. Between the death of Shah Jehan and her own death in September 1681, Aurangzib's sister, Jahanara, had been the first lady at court. She controlled the emperor's seraglio and bore the title of Begam Sahib or the Princess Royal. On her demise the emperor appointed to the vacant post his second daughter Zinatunnissa, who had never married. Zinatunnissa greeted Yesubai as a sister and adopted prince Shivaji as her son. The Maratha chroniclers love to repeat a strange explanation of her kindly conduct. In 1666, she had, as a girl, seen Shivaji's gallant bearing in the imperial hall at Agra and from that time on, had conceived a regard for the Maratha leader. Afterwards when Sambhaji asked for her hand as the price of his apostasy, she treated the request as a genuine offer of marriage and thereafter deemed her faith plighted to the dead king. In memory of him she treated Yesubai as her co-wife and Shivaji as her own child. However this may be, her help proved of the utmost service to the young king. The emperor wished to convert the boy to Islam, but on Zinatunnissa's entreaty agreed to accept in his

---

The treachery of Suryaji Pisal is not mentioned in the Bakhars, but is everywhere believed in and repeated. Grant Duff rightly accepted the story. The Musulman descendants of Suryaji Pisal still live at Ozarde near Wai on good terms with their Hindu kinsmen. See Riyasat vol. I., p. 617. See also Sanad at p. 195, Sanads and Letters by Purushotam Mawji and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis

place Khandoji Gujar,* a son of Prataprao Gujar, who, to save his master's religion, offered himself as a convert. Thereafter the emperor looked with a kindly eye on his enemy's son, whom he called Sahu, or the good one, as opposed to his grandfather and father whom he always abused as thieves and robbers. This nickname Sahu, pronounced Shahu, the young king afterwards adopted as his royal title.†

On the capture of Raygad all that remained of Shivaji's treasure, all the records of the Maratha government, the royal horses and elephants with their state trappings, and the golden throne made by the great king for his coronation, fell into Itikad Khan's hands. So did a mistress of Sambhaji and his natural son Madansing. As a reward for this splendid success Itikad Khan was given the title of Zúlfikar Khan and ordered to reduce Panhala. The Maratha commandant was Ghatge of Kagal, the ancestor of both the present chiefs of that name. He made a gallant defence. He repulsed numerous assaults and, so the tale runs, he once made so terrible a slaughter of the storming party that he was able to make a platform of their heads and fire cannon from it into the Moghul trenches. At last the emperor with large reinforcements joined Zulfikar Khan. Ghatge wrote to Ramchandra Bavdekar for help. But the Finance Minister had no troops to send him and advised his surrender on the best terms he could get. On receiving this message Ghatge opened negotiations with the emperor. Aurangzib, weary of the siege, offered to confirm Ghatge as chief of Kagal and to give him a post on the imperial staff with the title of Sarjerao. Ghatge accepted the offer and surrendered the fort; but to convince the

*Shahu afterwards gave Khandoji Gujar the deshmukhi right of sixty villages near Parali. His descendants still profess Islam although their customs and manners are Hindu.

†Mr. Rajwade has tried unsuccessfully, as I think, to refute this story and to prove that the word Shahu is a corruption of Shahaji, the boy's real name. But in an extant Sanad given by Shahu in 1710 the king is referred to as Shivnarpati. His name, therefore, could never have been Shahaji.

regent that he meant on the first chance to return to his allegiance, he sent to Jinji his brothers with all his valuables and personal effects. The fall of Miraj followed shortly on the fall of Panhala (April 1690).

In his stronghold of Vishalgad Rajaram had foreseen that as soon as Panhala fell, the emperor would lead his entire army to the siege of the former fortress. Thus to stay at Vishalgad was merely to court capture and a cruel death. He held a council of his chief officers and told them that the time had come to carry out the great king's strategic plan and leaving Maharashtra, to fall back on Jinji. That fortress would be defended to the last, while the field army would strike blow after blow at the long line of the emperor's communications. Ramchandra Bavdekar would remain in the western Deccan to organise such resistance as was still possible. It was a momentous occasion. To realise the desperate character of the regent's plan, the reader must imagine for a moment that the French army had been beaten on the Marne and that the French government had decided to evacuate France and withdraw to Gibraltar, leaving bands of francs tireurs to harass, as best they could, the German communications. An even closer parallel will perhaps be found in the retreat of the Servian army to Corfu and its subsequent advance from Salonika. The Maratha chiefs hesitated, as well they might, even though Rajaram's plan had been handed down to him by Shivaji himself. Finally it was settled that the garrisons of Vishalgad and of such other strong places, as still held out for the king should be left to defend them. Rajaram and his chief officers should split up into small groups and disguised as religious pilgrims go on foot from Vishalgad to Jinji. Ahead of them went runners to warn the viceroy Harji Mahadik and Nilo Pingle, Moro Pingle's son, and now Harji Mahadik's lieutenant, of their coming so that they could send bodies of cavalry to meet them, when they reached their neighbourhood. One night Rajaram with Santaji Ghorpade, Dhanaji Jadav, Khanderao

Dabhade, Pralhad Niraji and Khando Ballal Chitnis, all dressed as *Lingayat* pilgrims,* left Vishalgad fort. They clung as long as they could to the Sahyadri hills. Going due south they halted at Sonda. Thence they went to Bednur, where the Rani, a feudatory of the Maratha king, welcomed the fugitives. But the news of Rajaram's flight had reached the ears of the emperor. All the imperial officers in southern India were warned and their vigilance commanded. Some of the groups were surprised and killed. Rajaram and his party reached Bangalore safely. This place, as I have already mentioned, had fallen into Moghul hands during the dispute between Harji Mahadik and Keshav Pingle; and a close watch was kept for the Maratha fugitives. The royal party halted at the rest house. There Rajaram's servants began to wash their master's feet. One servant poured water over them, another brought a towel and got ready to dry them. The deference paid by these servants to Rajaram, so inconsistent with the equality of pilgrims, aroused the suspicions of some other travellers. They were Canarese and began in their own tongue to discuss the incident and the possibility that the party were political fugitives. In the end they resolved to go to the fort and tell the Musulman commandant their suspicions. Happily, one of Rajaram's comrades understood Canarese and when the travellers left the rest house, he informed the regent and his companions of their peril. The devoted loyalty of Khando Ballal Chitnis found a way of escape. The regent, he said, Santaji Ghorpade, Dhanaji Jadav and Khanderao Dabhade should go by one route; Pralhad Niraji and one or two others should go by another route. He, one Parasnis, and the regent's servants would stay behind and stoutly maintain their character as pilgrims. When they had baffled the enquiries of the imperial officers, they would all meet at a given spot. The generous offer of Khando Ballal was accepted and the regent and Pralhad Niraji left by different ways. An hour

* In one sanad they are said to have been disguised as *kapdi* i. e. cloth sellers.

or two later the commandant of the fort with a band of armed men came to the rest house, and seizing Khando Ballal and the servants began sharply to question them. Khando Ballal with an assurance as admirable as his devotion, pleaded that he and the three or four men with him were poor pilgrims to Rameshwar.* The others who had left were chance acquaintances made on the road. As their destination was different, they had now taken a different path. The commandant still doubted and had Khando Ballal and his companions flogged and then made them stand in the sun with stones on their heads. Finally he had bags full of hot ashes tied over their faces. Neither pain nor fear extorted anything from the pilgrims. The commandant began to think that their tale might be true. He threw them into prison. There they refused food on the plea that as pilgrims they could not eat in confinement. Convinced at last of the truth of their plea, he let them all go. In a few days they caught up the regent and the rest of the fugitives. From Bangalore onwards no further mishap befell them. Near Jinji they met a Maratha force led by Harji Mahadik and Nilo Pingle. The viceroy greeted the regent with every mark of respect and escorted him with great pomp and ceremony to Jinji, which now became the new capital, of the Marathas. (April 1690.)†

*Chitnis Bakhar.

†Paper 347 in Rajwade's volume XVth is dated April 1690. It contains the news of Rajaram's arrival at Jinji.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE GREAT MOGHUL OFFENSIVE
THE SIEGE OF JINJI

A. D. 1690 TO 1698

THE emperor had hoped that the presence in his camp of the young king Shivaji, or Shahu as I shall hereafter call him, would split the Marathas into factions. But his hopes were frustrated by the generosity of Yesubai and the loyalty of Rajaram. After Shahu's capture Rajaram refused to sit on the state throne, but presided at the meetings of his council, seated only on a village cot. He acted thus lest talebearers should say to the captive king that his uncle had usurped his throne. At Jinji, however, he received a letter from Yesubai, urging him to assume the insignia of royalty and so leave no loophole to those who might, on the ground that their king was a prisoner, decline to fight for the Maratha cause. Rajaram followed her advice. But at the same time he publicly announced that he would reign only so long as the rightful king lay in prison.

Having assumed the royal insignia, Rajaram appointed the eight ministers required by Shivaji's constitution.

1. As Peshwa or prime minister he appointed Nilo Moro Pingle, the son of Moro Pingle.

2. He appointed as Amatya or finance minister Janardan Hanmante, the son of Raghunath Hanmante*, the former viceroy of Jinji, who had so manfully warned Sambhaji against evil deeds and evil counsellors. Ramchandra Bavdekar who had held that office both

* See appendix.

under Shivaji and Sambhaji, was relieved of it and created viceroy of Maharashtra with the title of Hakumat Panha, which implied that within the viceroyalty his powers were equal to the king's.

3. The Pant Sachiv or Accountant General was Shankar Malhar Nargundkar.

4. The post of Mantri or Home Member was conferred on Shamjirao Pinde.

5. The office of Sumant or Foreign Minister was given to Mahadji Gadadhar.

6. Shrikaracharya Kalgavkar was made Panditrao and given charge of all ecclesiastical matters.

7. The post of Sar Nyayadish or Chief Justice was bestowed on Niraji Ravaji.

8. The post of Senapati or commander-in-chief was given to Santaji Ghorpade. He had already been appointed to the chief command by Rajaram. But he had in the interval been guilty of gross insubordination. He had been ordered by Ramchandra Bavdekar to raise the siege of Panhala. But leaving Panhala to its fate he had swept along the valley of the Tungabhadra and finally occupied Gooti. His intention was to create a sanctuary for himself in case Jinji fell. As a punishment for this disobedience, Ramchandra Bavdekar summarily degraded Santaji from his high office and gave it to Mahadji Pansambal, a brave but old and unenterprising soldier. He had since died and Rajaram restored Santaji Ghorpade to his former command. None of the eight seats in council was given to Pralhad Niraji. But Rajaram had not forgotten his eminent merits. He created especially for him the office of Pratinidhi or the king's mirror and gave him a precedence superior to seven of the eight ministers and equal to that of the Peshwa himself.

Having thus formed his cabinet, Rajaram bestowed a number of minor offices and dignities* and sent messengers throughout Maharashtra to announce his safe arrival at

* They are given at length in the Chitnis Bakhar.

Jinji and his assumption of the royal title. The news of Rajaram's safety and the establishment of the monarchy gave fresh vigour to Ramchandra Bavdekar and those who with him were loyally struggling in Maharashtra for the royal cause. Ramchandra had less difficulty in collecting revenue and in obtaining supplies. His chief task now was the reorganisation of the Maratha army. Its headquarters were partly at Jinji and partly in the Deccan. But the country between was overrun by Hindu soldiers of all castes, deserters from Sambhaji, troopers discharged from the imperial service or the remnants of the old armies of Bijapur and Golconda. They caused some losses to the Moghuls but far greater losses to the peasantry, and by plundering the countryside in the name of the Maratha king were making the name of the Marathas hateful all over southern India. The most prominent of the freebooters were two brothers Babaji and Rupaji Bhosle. They had once been captains in Shivaji's service but had turned marauders and they harried the Moghul posts with merciless perseverance. As they and their followers carried no weapons but spears, the word "Bhalerai" or spear rule came into use to designate the depredations of "freelances". Ramchandra Bavdekar managed to attach the two brothers to the royal cause. Other bandits were hunted down by Santaji Ghorpade, who gave them the choice of death or enrolment in Rajaram's army.

The emperor halted for a time between two opinions, namely, whether he should remain in the Deccan until he had conquered fort by fort, or whether he should follow Rajaram to Jinji. The wisest course would probably have been at once to besiege Jinji. But had he done so, the whole Deccan would again have burst into flame. On the other hand, if he left Rajaram alone in Jinji, the king would soon conquer the whole rich eastern seaboard and make Jinji an impregnable stronghold. The choice was a difficult one. The emperor in the end decided to continue the subjugation of the Deccan, but at the same time to

send a small force to keep Rajaram in check until the emperor could engage him with his main army. This scheme might have succeeded but for the activity of Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadav. These enterprising commanders aided by Pralhad Niraji soon collected fresh bodies of troops and raised them to a high state of efficiency. When the Moghul force appeared that was to keep in check Rajaram, Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadav at once attacked and destroyed it.

Relieved of immediate danger, Rajaram resolved to send for his wives from Vishalgad to Jinji. Since his flight he had been living with a mistress called Sagunabai, by whom he had a natural son afterwards well known as Raja Karna. But Yesubai in one of her letters from the Moghul camp urged him to send for his family. If he himself led an irregular life, he could not restore to the army the discipline which it needed. It was impossible that the royal ladies should travel across all southern India, overrun as it was by soldiers and freelances. Tarabai, moreover, had recently given birth to a son named Shivaji.* It was therefore resolved to send them by sea. The three queens, Tarabai, Rajasbai and Ambikabai, in charge of Visaji Prabhu, shipped at Yeshwantgad on the Konkan coast and doubling Rameshwar landed near Pondicherry, whence they went by land to Jinji. There in 1693 Rajasbai gave birth to a son named Sambhaji and Ambikabai to a daughter, who died a few days later.

In the meantime fortune had smiled but coldly on the emperor's operations in the Deccan. The effect of Ramchandra Bavdekar's vigorous viceroyalty and of the successes and reorganisation at Jinji was seen in the gallant defences of the Maratha strongholds. In the cold weather of 1691 the emperor, it is true, reduced Sinhgad and Purandar, but his every movement was harassed by the Maratha horse. After they had destroyed the detachment sent against Jinji, Rajaram sent Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji

*Shivaji, Tarabai's son, was born early in 1691.

Jadav to command the Maratha forces in the Deccan. Santaji Ghorpade first surprised the Moghul garrison at Wai. He soon followed up this success by the recapture of Miraj fort. At the same time Rajaram distributed among his nobles large grants of land formerly occupied by Shivaji but now in the possession of the emperor. These grants encouraged the Maratha leaders to equip troops at their own expense and with them to establish strong places in the midst of the Moghul possessions. Bands of Marathas appeared in Khandesh, South Guzerat, the Central Provinces and the country now known as the Nizam's Dominions, to enforce grants bestowed at Jinji. Patankar established himself in the valley of Patan and levied *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi,* all round Wai and Karhad. Pawar ravaged the Central Provinces so successfully that Rajaram conferred on him the title of Vishwasrao or the man of trust. Atole plundered the valley of the Godavari. At the same time Ramchandra Bavdekar raised large levies from the *Dhangars* or shepherds of the western hills, with which he retook a number of Deccan walled villages. At last the emperor saw that so long as any member of Shivaji's house remained at large, his plans of conquest would never be realised. He, therefore, sent a considerable army under Zulfikar Khan to besiege Jinji. The Marathas, aware of his coming, tried to bar his passage. But Zulfikar Khan was a skilful commander. Defeating the Marathas he continued his march towards Jinji. On the way he took several fortified places and at last sat down before the Maratha capital (1691).

Zulfikar Khan's forces were not large enough to invest Jinji and it was too strong to be battered down by the Moghul artillery. Indeed from the first he must have perceived that the capture of that fortress was beyond his resources, for he soon entered into a compact with the garrison that there should be no real hostilities between them. His object seems to have been the foundation of an independent kingdom on the death of the aged emperor. The regent readily accepted and observed the compact,

since it allowed him to send the bulk of his garrison as reinforcements to the Deccan.

In the year 1692 the recapture of Rajgad and Panhala were the most important Maratha successes. As it will be remembered, the great king had in 1647 A. D.* fortified a hill called Morbad and had changed its name to Rajgad. During the monsoon of 1688 it had been taken by the Moghuls and one Abu Khair Khan was appointed its commandant. The fort was a very strong one, hardly less so than Purandar or Sinhgad, and probably on that account had only a slender garrison. Suddenly a Maratha force appeared before it and demanded its surrender. Firoz Jang had received intelligence of the Maratha movements and at once detatched a large contingent to relieve Abu Khair. It came too late, for the fortress had already been betrayed by the craven fears of its governor. Dreading an assault in which he might have perished, he had surrendered the fortress on the promise of a safe conduct for himself, his family and his property. The Maratha general gave him a pass through his lines and proceeded to occupy Rajgad. But his soldiers, less scrupulous than their master, relieved Abu Khair of his money and clothes and his women of their jewelry. In this plight he met Firoz Jang's relieving column. The emperor, justly incensed, dismissed him from the army and ordered him to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The successful Maratha leader was Shankar Narayan Gandekar. He was the son of Naro Mukund the hereditary Kulkarni or village accountant of Gandapur. He took service as a clerk under Moro Pingle and afterwards under Ramchandra Bavdekar. In 1692 the viceroy ordered him to raise a corps of Maval infantry. This he did with such success that he was ordered to surprise Rajgad. My readers will be interested to learn that he was the ancestor of that loyal nobleman H. H. the Pant Sachiv of Bhor.

The captor of Panhala was another clerk in the service

*See vol. I, p. 134.

of Ramchandra Bavdekar. The story runs that in Kinhai, a small village in the Wai taluka, lived a pious Deshasth Brahman named Krishnaji. He was a devout worshipper of the goddess Parvati and yearly used to visit Aundh, where she had an ancient temple. As the years passed and he grew too old for the journey, he prayed to Parvati in her temple at Aundh to come and stay near him at Kinhai. That night the goddess appeared in a dream to Krishnaji and promised to follow him to Kinhai provided that on the way he did not turn round to look at her. Krishnaji promised; and when he awoke he started to walk back to Kinhai. As he went, the goddess followed him. He did not look back until he reached the top of some hills. Overcome by fatigue he sat down and without thinking looked back the way he had come. Instantly the goddess changed her form to that of a Maratha woman. It so chanced that just then a bania came up driving a bullock-cart filled with bags of sugar. The disguised goddess asked him what he had in his bags. He replied that they were full of salt. He went on his way, but on reaching home found that the sugar actually had changed to salt. In the meantime Krishnaji rose and resumed his march. But the goddess no longer followed him. Hearing at Kinhai of the bania's misfortune, he knew that the Maratha woman must have been Parvati and both returned to the spot where they had seen her. The bania prayed fervently to the goddess. She relented and turned his bags of salt back into sugar. Krishnaji feeling sure that Parvati would not go beyond the spot where he had looked back, built on it a temple with a wall round it and called it Sakhargad or the Fort of Sugar. There he dwelt until his death. His piety was rewarded by the birth of a son called Trimbak, who as his father had done spent his life in Parvati's service. Trimbak had two sons Madhavrao and Parashuram. In 1674 when in his fifteenth year, Parashuram entered as a lowly paid clerk the service of Nilo Sondev. There he became the close friend of Nilo

Sondev's son Ramchandra Nilkanth. He rose in time to be the latter's confidential secretary. Afterwards he received a military command and distinguished himself by the escalade of Panhala. For this and many subsequent feats of arms Rajaram honoured him with the title of Shamsher Bahadur, or the Samson of bravery. This gallant soldier was the ancestor of that admirable artist and courtly gentleman, the Pant Pratinidhi, chief of Aundh*.

In 1693 the Marathas destroyed or took a number of detachments. Several of these actions have been graphically described by Khafi Khan. In turn Santaji Ghorpade captured and held to ransom Ismail Khan, Rustam Khan, Ali Mardan Khan, and Jannisar Khan. According to the Musulman historian, so great was the terror of his name "that there was no imperial Amir bold enough to resist him and every loss he inflicted made the imperial forces quake." The emperor was at his wits' end and said in public that "The creature could do nothing, for everything was in the hands of God." After this confession of impotence he decided to relieve Zulfikar Khan of his command in front of Jinji. This he did in the cold weather of 1693 and ordered Zulfikar Khan to serve under his youngest son, prince Kam Baksh, whom he sent there with a fresh army. The veteran general was infuriated at his supersession. Although he and his staff went out with all respect to receive the prince, he did his utmost to frustrate his plans and to inflame against him the minds of his brother officers. He was especially successful in exciting against Kam Baksh, Jamdat ul Mulk, who was in charge of the civil government of the surrounding country, and Nasrat Jang, whose duty it was to collect the revenue. They declined to recognise the authority of the prince and took upon themselves to reprimand him for some youthful indiscretion. Kam Baksh appealed to the emperor, but he

*The Aundh chiefs still worship Parvati at Sakhargad under the name of Sakhargad nivasini or she who dwells at Sakhargad. Parashuram received the title of Mukhya Pradhan in 1695.

was too deeply engaged in the Deccan to enforce discipline in the Jinji army.

As may be guessed, the Moghul arms made no progress during the quarrels of the commanders. The siege dragged on through 1694 and 1695. The garrison made spirited sorties, destroying the trenches and the outposts, while Santaji Ghorpade held the roads by which the imperial convoys sought to reach the besiegers. So feeble at last did the investing army become, that the Maratha commanders resolved to raise the siege. According to the Maratha chronicler,* the Maratha forces numbered at this time nearly a hundred thousand. Of these ten thousand were with Rajaram in Jinji. Twenty thousand were actively opposing the imperial troops in the western Deccan. The remainder were divided into three main divisions each of twenty thousand, commanded respectively by Santaji Ghorpade, Parsoji Bhosle, honoured by the appellation of Sena Sahib or lord of the army, and Sindojirao Nimbalkar, to whom Rajaram had given the title of Sar Lashkar, or chief of the forces. Lastly, ten thousand men formed a flying column under Dhanaji Jadav.

On hearing of the Maratha advance, prince Kam Baksh ordered his detached posts to fall back on the besieging army. This order was easier to give than to execute. Those nearest the prince's headquarters reached them safely. But those at a distance were not so fortunate and suffered severely on the march. A detachment under the command of one Ismail Khan† was first attacked by Dhanaji Jadav. For some time the Moghul commander maintained a running fight. At last he took refuge in a walled village called Kokar Khan. The battle ceased during the night. Next morning Ismail Khan tried to continue his march. But he was brought to bay and forced to surrender with his whole command. Santaji Ghorpade moved further afield. At Caveripak on the Palar river,

* Chitnis Bakhar.

† Scott's Deccan, vol. II., p. 87.

twenty miles north of Jinji, lay a Moghul division under Ali Mardan Khan. Santaji Ghorpade decided to destroy it before attacking the prince's main army*. Ali Mardan Khan, unused to Maratha warfare, moved out to meet his enemy. At a critical moment in the fight some new levies that he had raised, deserted. He at once ordered a retreat on Jinji. He was soon surrounded and his division, with its entire transport, arms and equipment fell into the hands of the Marathas.

Having thus cleared their flanks, the Maratha commanders moved towards Jinji. By this time the prince, exasperated by the insubordination of Zulfikar Khan and his confederates had in turn begun to listen to Rajaram's envoys. They assured him that the emperor was on the point of death and that if Kam Baksh would but join Rajaram, the Maratha armies would secure him the succession to the imperial throne. The assurances of the envoys were confirmed by the rumours and the gossip of the camp, and Kam Baksh agreed to desert with the troops upon whom he could most confidently rely. Fortunately for the emperor he had shortly before sent his prime minister, Asad Khan, Zulfikar Khan's father, to report on the progress of the siege. He came to hear of the plot and informed his son. They kept a careful watch on the prince's movements. One night they noticed unusual preparations in his quarters. At the same time the garrison sallied vigorously against other parts of the Moghul lines. Certain that the prince was about to betray his father, they went to his tents and asked the cause of his preparations. He replied vaguely that he expected a night attack and was getting ready to meet it. Asad Khan assured him that his information was faulty and sternly directed him to countermand his order. The prince, seeing that his treachery had been detected, sullenly obeyed. In the night Zulfikar Khan brought from another part of the siege works a large body of loyal troops and

* *Ibid.* p. 89.

massed them round Kam Baksh's quarters. Next morning Asad Khan and Zulfikar Khan went on elephants inside the prince's zanana and seizing his person, imprisoned him in the fort of Bhindwasni, better known under its English corruption Wandewash.

While Zulfikar Khan was trying to restore order in the imperial camp, Santaji Ghorpade ceaselessly attacked it from without. In no long time the besieging army was itself besieged and forced to enter into a truce with the garrison. The terms were that Zulfikar Khan should retire unmolested to Wandewash and await further orders from the emperor. Both Asad Khan and Santaji Ghorpade opposed the truce. The latter was confident that in its present state he could take or destroy the entire investing army. But Rajaram hoped that the aged emperor would at last make peace and release Shahu. Asad Khan did not wish to cease hostilities without the emperor's orders. But while he was trying to win over to his own views Zulfikar Khan, the imperial artillery mutinied and forced on him the acceptance of the armistice (1696).

When the emperor learned that the siege of Jinji had been raised, he indignantly summoned to his presence both Asad Khan and the prince, and reprimanded Asad Khan severely. The prince he pretended to pardon, but sometime later* ordered his strict confinement. He sent Zulfikar Khan reinforcements and commanded him to renew the siege. The truce had already been broken. Santaji Ghorpade, who had strongly opposed it, was determined to interpret it strictly. He made no attack on the retreating Moghul army. But when it had reached Wandewash he deemed himself freed from his obligations. Hearing that a Moghul force under Kasim Khan, the governor of the Bijapur Carnatic,† was escorting a quantity of supplies to Wandewash, he resolved to intercept it. Ghorpade came up with the convoy near Caveripak on

* Scott's Deccan, vol. II., p. 94.

† The Bijapur Carnatic was the southern part of the old Bijapur kingdom.

the Palar river. Kasim Khan took shelter behind its walls. Zulfikar Khan, hearing of his straits, marched to his relief and escorted him safely to Wandewash. Santaji Ghorpade baulked of his prey, attacked and took a number of forts with their Moghul garrisons. Zulfikar Khan at once turned back, retook the forts and entering Tanjore took from Shahaji, Vyankoji's son, a large indemnity. Returning northwards, he led out his army from Wandewash and renewed the siege of Jinji. Unable to cope with Zulfikar Khan's military skill and the large forces at his disposal, Santaji Ghorpade entered the southern province of Bijapur*. The emperor ordered Kasim Khan to intercept him. His recent successful revictualling of the Moghul army had turned Kasim Khan's head. Near Dudheri fort, twenty-five miles north-east of Chitaldurg, he allowed his advance guard to be surprised. He hastened to their help but was soon himself surrounded. All that day he fought and passed the night under arms. After a three days' battle he was driven into Dudheri fort which Santaji at once invested. The siege lasted a month and the Musulman soldiers lived on the flesh of their horses and baggage camels. The Hindus starved or deserted. At last Kasim Khan poisoned himself and his second in command Rohulla Khan opened negotiations with the besieging force. Santaji Ghorpade, who had no wish to be encumbered with prisoners, demanded and obtained a promise of seven lakhs of rupees as ransom. He let the officers take with them their horses and clothes. The soldiers he let take such effects as they could carry. The guns, treasure and transport were the spoils of war.

Santaji Ghorpade had no sooner dispersed Kasim Khan's army than he heard of a large Moghul force under Himat Khan advancing at all speed to Kasim Khan's relief. Rajaram and the Jinji garrison had skilfully delayed its advance, until the other Moghul force had been rendered harmless. He then let it proceed to its destruction.

*Scott's Deccan, vol. II., p. 91.

Santaji divided his army into two. One division attacked Himat Khan and then, as if beaten, retreated into a forest where the second division was concealed. Himat Khan followed blindly into the forest paths by which Santaji had fled. When the entire Moghul army was entangled in the woods, musketry fire broke out on all sides of them, from the branches of the trees, from thorn thickets and from pampas grass. Himat Khan fell shot through the head. In a little time those of his troops who survived surrendered at discretion (1696)*.

These two important successes tempted Santaji Ghorpade to try once more to relieve Jinji; but Zulfikar Khan went out in person to meet him and severely defeated him some miles to the north of Jinji. Santaji realised that with Zulfikar Khan in sole command of the investing army, it was impossible to raise the siege. By 1687 it had become a blockade and little blood was shed save when Zulfikar Khan's second in command, Daud Khan, from time to time got drunk and senselessly assaulted the Maratha outposts†. Nevertheless the blockade was a strict one and no supplies entered the beleagured town. It was thus all important, before Jinji surrendered from famine, to get Rajaram to a place of safety. About this time, too, the emperor had sent for and warned Asad Khan that, unless his son Zulfikar Khan shortly took Jinji he would be disgraced and removed from his command. Zulfikar Khan was, therefore, anxious to secure a capitulation on almost any terms. The envoy employed was Khando Ballal Chitnis‡. He had been sent by Rajaram to convey to the viceroy Ramachandra Bavdekar the news of his contemplated escape, but on the way he had been taken and brought before Zulfikar Khan. He managed to secure a private interview and to communicate to the general the regent's wish to escape from the fortress. Zulfikar Khan

* Khafi Khan. Elliott & Dowson, vol. VII., p. 355 & Scott's Deccan, p. 95.

† Wilkes' Mysore, vol. I, p. 133.

‡ Chitnis Bakhar.

agreed to let the regent do so, if some plan could be conceived by which no blame would rest on him. At the same time he vigorously pressed the siege and it began to look as if Zulfikar Khan would carry the defences while Rajaram was still in the town. Khando Ballal was at his wits' end. At last he thought of Ganoji and Ramoji Shirke who commanded the siege works to the south-west of Jinji. They had escaped from the Shirke massacre and had taken service with the emperor. At first they haughtily refused any assistance. But Khando Ballal would not be rebuffed. He pleaded earnestly Rajaram's innocence and their own kinship to the unhappy Soyarabai, the regent's mother. At last Ganoji and Ramoji Shirke gave way on the condition of receiving a grant of the revenues of Dabhol in the Konkan. They in turn won over certain officers of the Mohite clan to which Rajaram's eldest wife Tarabai belonged. Another helper was found in Nagoji Mane. He was the son of one Rataji Mane who had held a great command in the Bijapur army, where he had won a high reputation for courage. During Rataji's lifetime his son shared with his father the favour of the king of Bijapur. But on Rataji's death Nagoji quarrelled with the Bijapur court and entered the Delhi service. He now commanded five thousand horse opposite the western gate of Jinji.

Khando Ballal's plan was that Nagoji should make a feigned attack on the western gate. In the confusion Rajaram and his attendants should escape to the Shirke's lines. Zulfikar Khan* approved the plan and it was carried out. The same night Nagoji Mane attacked the western gate and Rajaram fled to his kinsmen's camp. Next morning the Shirkes pretended to go on a hunting expedition. With them they took the regent and his attendants disguised as huntsmen. Out of sight of the Moghul army they galloped to a spot fifteen miles away

*I should mention here that Mr. Sardesai thinks that the evidence is against the treason of Zulfikar Khan. I am reluctantly forced to differ from his conclusion.

where a large Maratha force commanded by Dhanaji Jadav waited for the fugitive. Dhanaji took charge of Rajaram's person and escorted him to Vellore*. There Santaji Ghorpade joined them with his division and after some skirmishes with Moghul horse, the regent reached Vishalgad in December 1697†. On Rajaram's flight Harji Mahadik's son took command of the garrison. But the vigour of Zulfikar Khan's attacks soon afterwards carried the outer walls. In January 1698, Daud Khan came by chance to learn of a path through a small wood up the side of the fortress. Sober for the moment, he examined it and without informing Zulfikar Khan, decided to storm it. He joined with him in the enterprise a Rajput chief called Dalpatrao. The garrison thought the assault to be only one of Daud Khan's drunken outbreaks and paid little heed to it, until Dalpatrao had carried the main defences. The garrison fled to the citadel. But the Moghul forces now entered the town on all sides and the citadel surrendered to Zulfikar Khan. As he had previously promised to do, he handed over Rajaram's wives and their two sons to the Shirkes, who arranged for their return to the western Deccan,

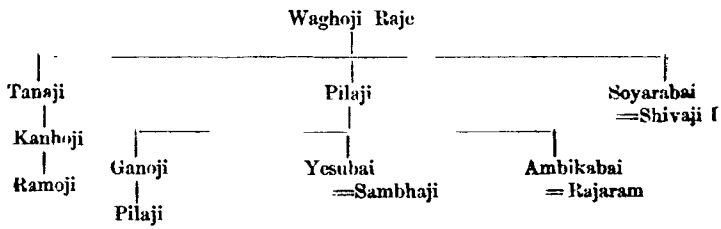
So ended the great siege of Jinji (January 1698). Ending as it did by the storm of the fortress, it might seem that the emperor had been the gainer in the struggle. The contrary, however, was the case. By the time Jinji had fallen, its siege had eaten deeply into the resources of the empire. The Maratha troops had repeatedly shewn themselves equal or superior to Moghul armies. The sanctuary created by the great king had done its work. The endless chain of the Moghul communications had been strained to breaking point. The time was at hand when the Maratha counter-offensive might begin.

* Wilks. p. 133.

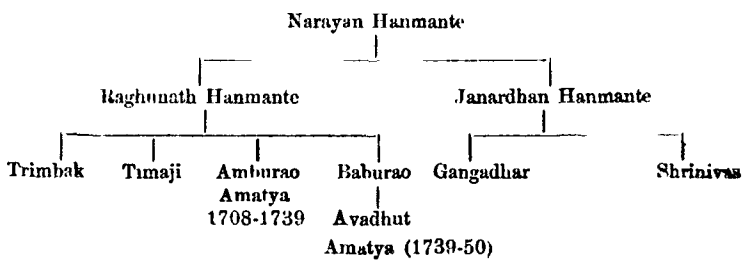
† Chitnis Bakhar.

APPENDIX

The following genealogical tree of the Shirkes is copied from vol. I of Mr. Sardesai's Riyasat, p. 663.



The following tree of the Hanmantes will be found *ibid* at p. 651.



CHAPTER XXXII

THE GREAT MOGHUL OFFENSIVE; THE LAST EFFORT THE BEGINNING OF THE MARATHA COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

A. D. 1698

Had the emperor been well advised, he would now have made peace with the Marathas, acknowleged Rajaram as king of the Western Deccan and Konkan and devoted his remaining years to the subjugation of Mysore, Travancore, and south-eastern India. Or better still he might after making peace, have returned to Delhi where his presence was urgently needed. Hindustan had been drained of its wealth and of its best blood in the vain attempt to subdue the south. The Rajput princes were weary of the wild hills and trackless forests of the Deccan and longed to return to their lands and castles in Rajasthan. The emperor, too, was in his seventy-ninth year and although young for his years was unfit any longer to conduct the arduous Maratha war. Nor would Rajaram have refused an offer of peace. He had lost a considerable treasure in Jinji. The finances of the kingdom were in disorder and Maharashtra, overrun in turn by the Moghul and Maratha armies, was fast becoming a desert. Asad Khan, the prime minister, urged Aurangzib to end the Deccan war in any honourable way he could. But the military party pressed on the emperor other views. The military chiefs drew large salaries and made handsome profits out of army contracts. They were loth to end a war from which they drew such ample incomes. They scoffed at the mention of peace. Was Aurangzib to give up his darling

scheme of conquering all India in the very hour of its consummation? Where the infidels to deride the crowned saint of Islam in the moment of victory? The emperor had, it is true, passed the allotted span of human existence. But was that not a sign that the Almighty was prolonging his life that he might win the goal which Asad Khan now urged him to abandon?

The emperor was shrewd enough to guess the motives of the military chiefs. But with senile obstinacy he clung to his hope to bring, as Alauddin had done, all India beneath the canopy of Delhi. Asad Khan, however, prevailed on him to open negotiations. But the loyal Rajaram asked for the liberation of Shahu before he would cease operations. The emperor lost his temper at this not unreasonable demand and gladly made it an excuse to dismiss rudely the Maratha envoys. He was confirmed in his views by an event that took place about this time, namely, the murder of Santaji Ghorpade. For a long time past there had been a feud between this distinguished soldier and Dhanaji Jadav. It began early in Rajaram's reign when Santaji Ghorpade was promoted to the chief command in spite of claims which to Dhanaji, at any rate, seemed superior. So long as Pralhad Niraji lived, his high influence and character curbed the passions of the angry captains. But in 1697, during the siege of Jinji, Pralhad Niraji had incurred the displeasure of the regent, and broken-hearted by his rebuke, had gone on a pilgrimage to Pandharpur*, and had committed suicide before the shrine of Krishna. Pralhad Niraji's control removed, Dhanaji Jadav resolved to destroy his rival. At this time Santaji Ghorpade at the head of a force numbering twenty-five thousand men was camped† some eighteen to twenty miles south of Bijapur. Firoz Jang, with a large body of Moghuls, was advancing against him from the north. When still four or five marches away, he heard of Dhanaji Jadav's

* Chitnis Bakhar.

† Khafi Khan.

intentions. He at once pressed forward to profit by the quarrels of the Maratha generals.) In the very presence of the enemy, Dhanaji Jadav attacked Santaji Ghorpade's force. The latter's strict discipline and cruel punishments had made him unpopular with his officers and men. On a concerted signal the bulk of them deserted to Dhanaji Jadav. Santaji fled alone into the western hills followed by Firoz Jang on one side and on the other by his own troops and Dhanaji Jadav's army. He might have escaped but for the tireless pursuit of Nagoji Mane. As will be remembered, Nagoji Mane had helped Rajaram to escape from Jinji and thereafter he had deserted the Moghul cause. He was by birth the deshmukh or hereditary revenue officer of Mhaswad and he had a bitter private feud with Santaji Ghorpade. As a punishment for some military offence, Santaji had ordered Nagoji Mane's brother to be trampled to death by an elephant*. This act Nagoji neither forgot nor forgave. When the others gave up the chase, Mane relentlessly pursued the fugitive. (Santaji, thinking that he had shaken off his enemies, dismounted to bathe himself and his horse in a small stream. As he bathed, Nagoji Mane and his men came upon him and killed him.) Mane cut off the dead man's head and putting it in a bag, tied the bag to his saddle, meaning to take it to Dhanaji Jadav. As he rode, the bag became unfastened and fell to the ground. It was picked up shortly afterwards by some of Firoz Jang's scouts, who opened it and recognised the head as that of Santaji Ghorpade. They carried it back to Firoz Jang who sent it by a messenger to Aurangzib. The latter was delighted and gave the messenger the title of Khush Khabar Khan, or lord among the bearers of glad tidings. The head was paraded by beat of drum through the army and through several of the chief towns of the Deccan. Santaji's death was a great loss to the Maratha cause. For seven years he had been

* Another account given by Mr. Sardesai mentions that Santaji had killed Amritrao Nimbalkar Nagoji Mane's father-in-law.

the terror of the Moghul armies and so great was the fear that prevailed among them both of him and of Dhanaji Jadav, that the Musulman troopers used, when their horses refused to drink, to ask them whether they saw the face of Santaji or of Dhanaji in the water.[1]

The emperor, greatly encouraged by the death of this brilliant soldier, devoted himself more zealously than ever to the subjugation of the western Deccan. He determined to take one by one the Maratha forts; and having driven the Maratha troops into the plains, to overwhelm them in the open. Had this strategy been adopted earlier, it might have succeeded. But the imperial troops had been so weakened by death and disease, discharges and desertions, that they did not now greatly outnumber the forces of the regent. Captured fortresses needed garrisons to hold them, and the creation of garrisons meant the further diminution of the imperial army. During the siege of Jinji the emperor had been compelled, in order to reinforce Zulfikar Khan, to reduce to a dangerously low number his army in the Deccan. The result was that a number of Deccan forts had passed into Maratha hands. I have already mentioned the recapture in 1692 of Rajgad and Panhala by Shankar Narayan Gandekar and Parashuram Trimbak. In the following year, 1693, Shankar Narayan took Torna and Rohida close to Rajgad and occupied effectively the country between these forts. Sidhoji Gujar, the Maratha Sarkhel or admiral, took Suvarnadurg and Vijaydurg on the Konkan coast. On Sidhoji's death the regent conferred the post and title of Sarkhel on Kanhoji Angre. The original name of the Angres was Sangpal and they claimed, apparently with justice that they were of pure Rajput descent. Kanhoji's father, Tukoji, had been a sailor in the Great King's fleet and Kanhoji had from boyhood served in the Maratha navy. He captured the Kolaba district, from the Abyssinians and in course of time recovered a large part of the Konkan seaboard. Vishalgad was retaken by Parashuram Trimbak. After Rajaram's flight the siege

had at first languished, but was afterwards pressed with vigour. The viceroy evacuated it with the regular troops, leaving its defence to a body of hillmen. They could not save the fort; but the gallantry of their defence may be judged by the fact that after its fall no less than seven hundred Maratha widows burnt themselves as Satis. The emperor garrisoned the fort with Maratha officers favourable to his cause under the command of one Krishnaji Bhaskar Pandit*. The emperor's choice of a commandant was unfortunate. For afterwards Parashuram Trimbak induced Krishnaji Bhaskar to admit a Maratha force, who destroyed or won over the Moghul garrison.

To discuss the emperor's plan of campaign the regent called to Satara, which at Ramchandra's advice he now made his residence, his chief officers. It was a momentous council. Eight years before, the regent, then a youth of high promise, had left his country to the care of Ramchandra Bavdekar and had slipped out into the darkness to cross the peninsula in the disguise of a wandering beggar. His chances of escape were but few, yet his death or capture meant the final extinction of Maratha hopes. Through imminent peril he had won his goal and at Jinji had sustained a siege hardly shorter than that of Troy with the skill and valour and more than the fortunes of Hector. He had created armies, he had planned campaigns, he had governed distant provinces. Well-nigh unbearable though his burden was, he had nobly and worthily borne it. Through an endless darkness he had kept alive the flickering flame of his country's independence; and when the emperor thought he had at last crushed him for ever, Rajaram had re-appeared in his own kingdom and had once again hurled defiance at the northern invader.

When the council opened Ramchandra the viceroy, supported by his lieutenants, Parashuram Trimbak and Shankar Narayan, advanced to the regent's seat.

*The descendants of Krishnaji Pandit are still to be found in Vishalgad state. Riyasat I, p. 638.

Ramchandra said in a grave, clear voice "During your Highness' absence from Maharashtra, we, so far as our humble powers permitted, guarded and administered your possessions. Now, with your leave, we return to you your kingdom."[1] The regent acknowledged the viceroy's speech by praising the manner in which he had discharged the duties of his high office. He lauded the services of Atole, Dabhade, Pawar and Patankar and distributed to them and to others dresses of honour suited to their rank and achievements. He then disclosed to the council his plans. He meant to let the emperor wear out his army besieging the Deccan fortresses, while he and his lieutenants invaded with large bodies of horse the Moghul territories further than they had been invaded for many years. Thus while the emperor was trying to destroy his bases, the Marathas would retaliate by destroying his. "The enemy's power is weakened", concluded Rajaram, "our troops no longer fear to meet the emperor's. Our task is reaching its close. By the blessing and merit of my father, the divine Shivaji, fortune will crown our efforts with victory." He then raised Timaji Hanmante, son of Janardanpant Hanmante, to the office of Pratinidhi and appointed Ramchandra Bavdekar to his old post of Amatya or Finance Minister.

Both sides were anxious to strike the first blow.[2] But Aurangzib's preparations were hindered by the extraordinary rise of the Bhima river. For some years past he had established his headquarters at Brahmapuri. It had been fortified as became the residence of the emperor, and his high officers had built themselves costly and luxurious houses. In the monsoon of 1699 the Bhima river, which flowed past Brahmapuri, rose to an unprecedented height and overflowing its banks caused immense loss to the imperial army. Between ten and twelve thousand men perished; vast quantities of horses and cattle, tents, arms and equipment were swept away by the raging river. In despair the emperor wrote on scraps of paper verses from

the Koran and with his own hand threw them into the water. When in due course the Bhima subsided, his courtiers ascribed its fall to the holy verses thrown into it. While Aurangzib, Koran in hand, was thus battling with the elements, the Maratha counter-offensive began. On Santaji Ghorpade's death, Rajaram had appointed Dhanaji Jadav to the chief command. As before, the Maratha army was formed to three divisions. Dhanaji Jadav in addition to his supreme command led one division. Parashuram Trimbak led the second and Shankar Narayan led the third. Early in 1699 Rajaram took the field with the combined divisions, amounting at least to sixty thousand men; and as the army advanced northwards, it was joined by brigades under Parsoji Bhosle, the founder of the Bhosle house of Nagpur, Haibatrao Nimbalkar, Nemaji Sindia*, and Atole. This mighty force moved towards the Godavari valley. The Moghul garrisons who tried to resist were overwhelmed. Dhanaji Jadav defeated one large body of imperial troops near Pandharpur. Shankar Narayan cleared another contingent under Sarze Khan out of the Poona district. Entering the valley of the Godavari, Rajaram publicly proclaimed his right to levy from it the *chauth* and the *sardeshmukhi*, the taxes of $\frac{1}{4}$th and $\frac{1}{10}$th which Shivaji had created. From those villages that could not pay, bonds were taken. From the Godavari valley Rajaram marched into Khandesh and Berar. This time he came not as a mere raider; and to convince the inhabitants that he would give them protection and exercise sovereignty, he divided the country into military districts and left in them strong detachments under distinguished generals. Khanderao Dabhade took command in Baglan and northern Nasik. Parsoji Bhosle was made governor of Berar, Nemaji Sindia governor of Khandesh and Haibatrao Nimbalkar governor of the valley of the Godavari. Rajaram himself led a large body of cavalry to plunder the rich

* The real name is Shinde. But I have decided to adhere to the common spelling.

city of Jalna, some miles south-east of Aurangbad. After the departure of the regent, Nemaji Sindia won an important success near Nandarbar, a large town some eighty miles east of Surat. Hearing that a Maratha army was in the neighbourhood, a Moghul* commander called Hussein Ali Khan, with seven or eight hundred horse and three thousand foot went out with more courage than prudence to meet it. The Moghuls fought well but they were surrounded and captured. Sindia fixed their ransom at two lakhs of rupees. Hussein Ali Khan managed to find among his friends security for one lakh and eighty thousand. Twenty thousand rupees remained still outstanding. He begged the help of the merchants of Nandarbar. But relying on a Moghul garrison, the merchants refused to pay anything to the Marathas either as ransom or tribute. Hussein Ali Khan found an ingenious way out of his difficulties. He induced Sindia to release him on parol that he might enter Nandarbar and personally interview the reluctant traders. Sindia was then to besiege the town. Two days afterwards Hussein Ali Khan would open the gates to the Marathas. Everything happened as Hussein Ali Khan planned. He found shelter inside Nandarbar and opened the gates to the Maratha army. He then led Sindia to the houses of the chief merchants and took an active part in torturing them until they disgorged their treasures. So effective was the joint action of the Moghul and Maratha commanders that instead of twenty thousand they soon extorted from the rich men of Nandarbar a hundred and seventy thousand rupees. Of these Sindia took a hundred and forty thousand. Hussein Ali Khan was allowed to keep the remainder himself.

In the meantime the emperor had begun his new campaign. Leaving a garrison at Brahmapuri which he renamed Islampuri, he led out his grand army in October 1699 to reduce the Maratha strongholds. His first object was Vasantgad, a large fort between the Krishna and Koyna

*Khafi Khan, Vol. VII. Elliott and Dawson, p. 362.

rivers. The garrison made a poor defence and surrendered before any real assault had been made*. The emperor fancied that he had at last hit upon the true method of subduing the Marathas. With premature bravado, he renamed his conquest Kilid-i-Fateh, or the Key of Victory. He next made a skilful feint towards Panhala, which the Marathas with all speed strengthened and provisioned. Then turning aside, he hastened by forced marches against the fort of Satara. This fort is a spur of the great Mahableshwar plateau and rises about a thousand feet above the Krishna valley. At its foot nestles the town of Satara, which had recently risen to the dignity of a capital. On the 8th December 1699 the emperor pitched his tents in the village of Karanja, where a ruined column still marks the site. To the west between Satara and Parali camped Azim Shah, whose name has has been commemorated by the village of Shahpur†. At Shendre village, Sharze Khan commanded the southern division of the grand army. A road which he built over the hill is still known as Sarza Khind or Sharze's Pass. Tarbiyat Khan commanded the forces to the east and was also in chief command of the siege operations. The siege was pressed with the utmost vigour and batteries were raised on the neighbouring mountain of Chambhar Tekadi, which commanded Satara fort. But the defence was no less vigorous than the attack. The commandant was Prayagji Anant Phanse, a native of Panvel, one of that Prabhu community whose members had already given to Shivaji such signal instances of loyalty and devotion. Prayagji was an old servant of the house of Bhosle. As far back as 1649 he was in the service of Shivaji. For many years he had been commandant both of Satara and Parali; and a relic of his rule is yet to be found in the neighbourhood. On the great hill which marks the eastern end of the Mahableshwar plateau he built in the middle of a bamboo wood a temple

* Scott's Deccan, vol. II, p. 97.

† Chitnis Bakhar.

to the god Shiva and called it Yuvateshwar or the god of the bamboo trees. The temple is still to be seen and both it and the mountain on which it stands are familiar to residents in Satara as Yeoteshwar. The fort, however, was only provisioned for two months and must have yielded from hunger, had the Marathas not found an ally in the corruption of the emperor's son Azim Shah. Directly he had realised the emperor's design, Parashuram Trimbak had thrown himself into Parali, only six miles away. By means of large bribes he persuaded Azim Shah to let convoys of food and munitions pass from Parali into Satara. At the same time clouds of Maratha horse circled continuously round the besieging army. Unable to reduce Satara by famine and threatened with scarcity himself, Aurangzib tried to make a breach in the fortifications. From a radius of several miles he attracted labourers to his camp by offering them a gold coin for every basket of earth they removed. When two of the borings had reached a sufficient depth, they were filled with explosives. A large storming party was held in readiness and a number of guns trained on the fort to support their attack. In order to attract the garrison to the spot where the mines would explode, the emperor decked himself in his state robes and jewels and accompanied by a splendid retinue had himself carried on a portable throne below the north-east corner of the fort. The garrison, including the commandant Prayagji Phanse, thinking the procession to be some religious celebration, crowded to the edge. Instantly the first mine was fired. A vast mass of stone rose in the air, carrying with it two hundred of the garrison. Under cover of the smoke and confusion and the fire of their own batteries, the storming party climbed up the hill. When they were half way up, the second mine was fired and the emperor hoped that its explosion would open a further breach for the attacking force. Unfortunately the mine exploded in the wrong direction. Quantities of great boulders rose in the air, but falling

outwards showered on the heads of the unhappy Moghuls. The entire storming party was swept away. Some two thousand were buried under the falling stones. Hundreds of others were shot down by the garrison. Greatly cheered by this success, the garrison looked for their commandant. He had been sitting under a tree near the north-eastern bastion and had been blown up when the first mine exploded. By great good luck some rocks, as they fell, formed an arch over his body. He was able to call his men who after considerable labour, dug him out unhurt. The loss of his storming party, as the Maratha chroniclers relate, so enraged the emperor that, losing his usual self-command, he ordered his elephants and all his transport cattle to be killed and their bodies piled up outside the walls as stepping stones by which his army might climb into the fort*. Asad Khan, however, persuaded him to countermand this ridiculous order and hinted that a better way would be to censure Azim Shah and make him stop his treacherous complaisance with the enemy.

Aurangzib recovered his self-control and sending for Azim Shah reprimanded him so severely on the want of discipline that allowed convoys to pass through his lines, that the prince saw that further treachery was impossible. He accordingly wrote to Parashuram Trimbak warning him that in future he would seize all supplies meant for the besieged. This warning was communicated by Parashuram Trimbak to Prayagji Phanse. No sooner had the commandant heard it, than he received other and still more depressing information. This was the sudden death of the regent. After holding out for a week or two longer Prayagji opened negotiations. On the 21st April 1700 he surrendered the fort. Although provisioned for only two months, it had stood a siege of six. The gallantry of its defence had foiled the emperor's design of reducing in the dry season the Maratha forts and of attacking during the monsoon Rajaram's unprotected armies.

*Chitnis Bakhar.

41578

Nevertheless, heartened by the news of the regent's death, which he proclaimed everywhere by beat of drum, Aurangzib at once moved against Parali. To soothe Azim Shah's feelings hurt by the recent reprimand, and to stimulate him to more vigorous efforts in the coming siege, Aurangzib changed the name of Satara to Ázim Tara or star of Azim Shah, He also announced that the whole credit of its fall was due to the tireless efforts of of his gallant son. On the March to Parali the emperor boasted to his soldiers that now Rajaram was dead, his arms would soon overcome the regent's helpless widow and children.

ZULFIKAR KHAN

[*To face page* 102]

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE MARATHA COUNTER-OFFENSIVE
DEATH OF RAJARAM AND REGENCY OF TARABAI

A. D. 1700 TO 1706

As mentioned in the last chapter, Rajaram had taken with him a large force to attack Jalna. His march was at first successful. He plundered the city and then set it on fire. Entering the Godavari valley, he plundered Paithan, Bhid and other towns along the river banks. Fearing to penetrate further east he turned back, meaning to deposit his plunder within the walls of Sinhgad. He had no sooner turned than he was surprised and defeated by Zulfikar Khan. That talented captain had in a series of skilfully fought actions worsted repeatedly Dhanaji Jadav and had driven the Maratha troops out of south-eastern India. He then hastened north-west and inflicted on Rajaram's army, a severe reverse. The regent fell back with all speed, but he never shook off the Moghul pursuit. In this disastrous retreat the regent's resource and courage alone saved his army. Although half dead with fatigue, he fought for fifty miles a continuous series of rear-guard actions, and at last brought his command, reduced but not destroyed, to the welcome shelter of Sinhgad. Unhappily, the hardships and exposure aggravated a weakness of Rajaram's lungs contracted at Jinji. He at first seemed in good spirits at the fortunate end of his enterprise, received modestly the congratulations of Ramchandra Bavdekar and the other ministers. But after some days high fever set in with frequent hemorrhages. Knowing that his end was near, he called to his bedside his ministers and forgetful of his own sufferings, he commanded them not

to relax their efforts in the war of liberation until King Shahu had been freed and the Moghuls driven from the land of the Marathas. He raised Ramchandra Bavdekar to the presidency of the council and bade the other ministers be guided by the old stateman's wisdom and experience. Then dismissing them, he composed his mind and met death with the firmness with which he had so often faced his enemies. (5th March 1700 Falgun *Wadya 9th, Shake* 1621.)

English historians have united in praising the placable temper, the regular life and the open-handed generosity of Rajaram. But he has been charged with complicity in the murder of Santaji Ghorpade. The only original authority that I have seen, that fastens on Rajaram a share in that gallant soldier's death is Scott's Deccan: But the Musulman historian therein translated has explained that Santaji Ghorpade, according to the regent's information, entered into a treasonable plot against him. This was not unlikely in view of Santaji's previous conduct. Nor did the times allow of formal investigation. Thus at most it can be said that Rajaram, acting on evidence before him, ordered Santaji's execution. But there is no reason to suppose that this historian is correct. Khafi Khan, a far more reliable authority, has laid no blame on the regent. He has ascribed the general's murder to the enmity of Dhanaji Jadav and Nagoji Mane. This view derives support from the fact that these officers made a common cause with the Moghul Firoz Jang, a course which Rajaram would certainly not have tolerated. It may be urged that the regent should at least have punished Dhanaji Jadav. Against a settled government this charge would have had some weight. But in times as difficult as those in which Rajaram ruled, it is impossible to expect perfect justice. Rajaram had just lost his best general. To have punished Dhanaji Jadav as he deserved, would have involved the loss of the only other Maratha captain who had so far shewn himself of outstanding ability, whose

loyalty was beyond question and who was closely connected by ties of kinship with the royal house.

Rajaram's funeral ceremonies were performed by Jivaji Raje Bhosle. He was the direct descendant of Vithoji Bhosle, younger brother of Maloji Bhosle and Shivaji's great uncle. To keep alive the regent's memory, Ramchandra Bavdekar built on the edge of Sinhgad fortress a temple to Shiva. The temple was handsomely endowed with lands and money and may still be seen in undiminished splendour. Rajaram left two sons, Shivaji by Tarabai, Sambhaji by Rajasbai, and a daughter Soyarabai by Jankibai* his first wife, who had died in his early manhood. He left also a childless widow, Ambikabai, whose only daughter had died at Jinji. At the time of the regent's death, Tarabai, Rajasbai and their two sons were at Panhala. Ambikabai was at Vishalgad. Directly she heard the news of her husband's death, she declared her intention of burning herself as a *sati*. Several curious legends have centred round this brave lady's death. According to one tale, the commandant of Vishalgad laughed at her declaration and observed that it was but a sorry pretext for breaking through the restraints of the zanana. Ambikabai indignantly repudiated the charge and the gods supported her by striking blind the impious commandant. He humbly begged the queen's pardon and at her intercession, heaven restored the guilty wretch's sight. She then ordered a pyre to be prepared that she might burn herself alive. Her officers, however, urged that this was impossible. Rajaram had died three days before and his body had been already burnt. She should have burnt herself either with him or at any rate on the day of his death. She met this objection by pointing out that so far as she was concerned, it was the day of his death. She had only just heard of it. She then ordered wood for the pyre to be brought from Malkapur. Again her officers objected that

*Jankibai was the daughter of Prataprao Gujar, Soyarabai married Bajaji Nimbalkar, see vol. I, p. 243.

this would take several hours and the sun was low on the horizon. But confident in her powers as a *sati,* Ambikabai put a twig on the ground and forbade the shadows to pass over it, until she had fulfilled her vow. Obedient to her command, the sun stood still in its course until the wood from Malkapur had arrived and the pyre had been built. Then taking in her hands a favourite turban of her husband she entered the pyre and with unflinching courage burnt herself to ashes.

Tarabai, the chief queen of the dead regent, shewed a different but no less ardent spirit. She summoned a council of state on behalf of her son Shivaji and demanded his recognition as king of the Marathas. Ramchandra Bavdekar protested that the true king was Shahu, on whose behalf Rajaram had ruled. Shivaji could not have inherited from his father a better title than his father had possessed. At the same time he readily agreed to serve under Tarabai as regent for King Shahu. But the high spirited Tarabai impatiently brushed aside his objections and insisted that her son Shivaji should be crowned as king. "He is the Shivaji," she added, "of whom the prophecy runs that he will conquer all India from Attock to to Rameshwaram". She had already won to her son's cause Parashuram Trimbak and Shankar Narayan, who appreciated the advantage of serving a present rather than an absent king, no matter how strong the latter's claim. Relying on their support, Tarabai reduced Timaji Raghunath from the office of Pratinidhi and gave it to Parashuram Trimbak who had already held it for a short time in 1698. She reduced Shankar Malhar from the post of Pant Sachiv and gave it to Shankar Narayan Gandekar. The other ministers, overawed by her vigour, agreed to Shivaji's coronation. Early in 1701, the child was crowned with the customary splendour at Panhala and married to Bhawanibai, a daughter of the house of Ghatge. At the same time Tarabai threw her co-wife Rajasbai and her son Sambhaji into prison.

While this question of state was being settled, the emperor had taken Parali. It had been fortified and provisioned by Parashuram Trimbak and, according to the Maratha chroniclers, it received supernatural aid from the spirit of the dead saint, Ramdas. The vulgar belief had been that he was the re-incarnation of the monkey god Maruti, who had helped the divine Ramchandra in the conquest of Lanka. Sent by the dead saint, crowds of monkeys hastened to the defence of Parali* and hurled down rocks on the besieging Moghuls. Nor were they the only aid that the Marathas received from the animal kingdom. Clouds of wasps flew round the Moghul storming parties and maddened them with their stings. However this may be, an attempt by Fateh Ulla Khan, the general in command of the siege operations, to carry the place by escalade failed disastrously. The scaling ladders were destroyed† and three hundred picked troops perished. But it was no part of Parashuram's policy to sustain a lengthy siege. All he wished to do was to engage the imperial army until the rains fell, when the monsoon would, he knew, cause it greater losses than any he and his garrison could inflict. He waited until the monsoon had burst. He then removed from Ramdas' temple the saint's images of Rama and Sita, sealed the saint's shrine and skilfully evacuating Parali, fell back on Wasota, a great fortress in the Koyna valley (June 1700). The emperor garrisoned Parali and pleased with its comparatively speedy fall renamed it Nauroz Tara, or the star of the new day. His pleasure, however, was short-lived. The Urmodi or Breast-breaker river which runs past the foot of Parali came down with the violence which has given to it its name, and destroyed quantities of baggage and animals. But when the army reached the Krishna, a disaster§ of the first magnitude occurred. So violent was

* Chitnis Bakhar.

† Scott's Deccan.

§ Khafi Khan.

the current that Aurangzib's rear-guard was completely cut off. Nine out of ten of those who tried to swim the Krishna were drowned. The remainder stayed on the further bank without food or shelter. They perished to a man. Aurangzib and the bulk of the army reached Wardhangad in safety. There the emperor, justly attributing the sufferings of his troops to the corruption and treachery of his son, Azim Shah, relieved him of his command and appointed him governor of Ujjain. When the rains had abated, the emperor led his army out of the hills and camped at Khawaspur* on the banks of the Man river. There he sent for reinforcements from Burhanpur, Bijapur, Haidarabad and Hindustan. But even at Khawaspur the unhappy Moghuls were not free from misfortune. The rainfall at Khawaspur is, as a rule, light. But unluckily in October 1700 the rains fell with unusual violence and the Moghul camp was inundated by the sudden rise of a torrent which passed close to it. Numbers of soldiers and of transport cattle perished and the emperor, who was in bed with a sore foot was with some difficulty rescued†.

With senile obstinacy Aurangzib continued to besiege the Maratha fortresses. His next objective was Panhala. This fortress, as it will be remembered, had in spite of Ghatge's gallant defence been taken by the Moghuls and afterwards recovered by Parashuram Trimbak. The emperor once more laid siege to it. Dhanaji Jadav harassed in the usual Maratha way the besieging army. But Parashuram's tactics were now adopted by the commandants of all the forts. After a two months' siege during which the garrison inflicted as much loss as they could on the investing army, they cut their way through it and on the 28th May 1701 abandoned to the emperor the empty fortress. In the same year the emperor won the barren glory of retaking Chandan Wandan, near Satara. He met, however, a more vigorous resistance

* Khawaspur is in the Sholapur district.

† Scott's Deccan.

at Vishalgad. That stronghold, as has been related, had been taken by the Moghuls and afterwards betrayed by their commandant to the Marathas. In December 1701 Parashuram Trimbak threw himself into Vishalgad, determined, if possible, to retain it. Fateh Ulla Khan, who commanded the besiegers, began his operations by massacring the entire population between Panhala and Vishalgad, a distance of about forty miles*. The Moghuls began the siege with a resolution that they had not shewn since the sieges of Bijapur and Golconda. Not only earth, but camel saddles, corpses of dead men and bodies of cattle were used to bring the siege works ever closer to the walls. Nevertheless for six months the garrison sustained with constancy all assaults. Then bribing Fateh Ulla Khan, Parashuram Trimbak left Vishalgad with his regular troops. On the 4th June 1702 a few hill-men surrendered to the Moghul general†. After this success, bought by rivers of his soldiers' blood, Aurangzib rested his troops. When the monsoon had passed, he moved to Poona and sat down before Sinhgad. It fell in April 1703 after a siege of three and a half months. But its capitulation was only obtained by a present of money to the commandant, who led out his garrison with the honours of war. The rainy season of 1703 the emperor spent in Poona. In December of that year to February 16th 1704 he was engaged in the investment and capture of Rajgad. In March 1704 Torna fell by assault‡.

Thus by 1704 the emperor had so far achieved his object, that he had taken the chief Maratha strong places. But he was further than ever from the conquest of the Maratha people. He had boasted that he would soon crush his enemies now that the great king's house had dwindled to his two infant grandsons. But he was to learn that the death of Rajaram had in no way weakened the Maratha

* Scott's Deccan, vol. II, p. 110 *et seq.*

† Aurangzib renamed it Sakherlana.

‡ Scott's Deccan, vol. II., p. 110 *et seq.*

government. Tarabai had inherited the military talents and energy of her father Hambirrao Mohite. With the tireless vigour with which Hera strove to rouse against Priam the princes of Hellas, the Maratha queen flew from camp to camp and fortress to fortress. Living the life of a common trooper, exposed to the sun, sleeping on the ground, Tarabai was everywhere encouraging her officers, planning campaigns, organizing victories. Nor did the soldiers resent her interference. So clear was her vision, so unerring her judgment, that she was equally welcome on the battlefield and in the council chamber; and in no short time the Maratha counter-offensive, at first halting and ineffective, began to threaten the very heart of the Moghul empire. Nor could the invaded provinces offer any resistance. The emperor to reinforce his grand army had left behind only feeble garrisons and had disarmed the landowners to prevent them rebelling against the garrisons. Finding nowhere any organised opposition, the Marathas ceased to be mere raiders. Everywhere that their armies penetrated they created permanent administrations for the collection of revenue. Everywhere could be found their agents, their *subhedars,* and their *Kamavisdars.* In the year 1705 two Maratha armies simultaneously crossed the Narbada. One led by Nemaji Sindia forced the Vindhya mountains and ravaged Central India as far as Seronj, some fifty miles north of Bhopal. The other led by Khanderao Dabhade, turning aside from Surat and Broach threatened the whole of the wealthy viceroyalty of Guzerat. The Moghul government sent from Ahmadabad one Mahomed Beg Khan at the head of thirteen or fourteen thousand regular horse and a levy of ten thousand *Kolis* or hillmen. But Mahomed Beg Khan was no match for the experienced Maratha commander. First Dabhade sent a few squadrons to meet Mahomed Beg's army. Mahomed Beg thought them to be the entire force with which he had to deal and attacked them with twenty thousand men. The Maratha troopers fled at their

approach leaving as they fled some led horses, a few spears and umbrellas. Mahomed Beg Khan congratulated himself and his men on their easy victory and collected triumphantly the spoils of war. As the day grew warmer, the conquerors camped on the banks of the Narbada; they unsaddled their horses, laid aside their arms and were soon asleep, dreaming of their recent triumph. Suddenly eight thousand Maratha horse, whose spies had been watching the Moghul movements burst on the unprepared enemy. A wild panic seized Mahomed Beg and his troops. The whole mass fled, hoping to put between them and the enemy the Narbada river. But a strong tide was sweeping up the estuary and men and horses were drowned by thousands. The remainder were cut down by the Marathas*. Before evening the Moghul army had ceased to exist and Guzerat as far north as Ahmadabad was plundered by Khanderao Dabhade.

These continual disasters broke the spirit of the imperial soldiery. Worn out by twenty years of war, they could only, if led by Zulfikar Khan, be made to face the Maratha horse. On the Moghul side were slackness, disorganisation and dismay. On the Maratha side was the confidence born of repeated success. Indeed so great had become the contempt of the Marathas for the aged emperor, that to mock the Musulmans who every Friday offered up prayers in Aurangzib's name, the Maratha captains also ordered their own men every Friday to offer up prayers to heaven to prolong indefinitely the life of one who opposed them so feebly†. At last on the representations of his officers, Aurangzib's youngest son, Kam Baksh, who not long before had been released from captivity, obtained his father's leave to open negotiations with Dhanaji Jadav‡. As Rajaram had done, Jadav demanded as a preliminary

* Khafi Khan. Elliott and Dowson, VII, p. 374.

† Scott's Deccan.

‡ Khafi Khan writes that Dhanaji Jadav opened the negotiations. But Grant Duff is, I think, correct in stating that the offer must have come from the Moghuls.

condition the release of Shahu. The king was to be entrusted to Kam Baksh's care and led by him to the Maratha camp, where he would receive and confer with the Maratha leaders. Thereafter the latter would present themselves before Aurangzib and receive recognition of the right of the Maratha government and levy *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* over the southern provinces of the empire. No less than seventy invitations to Maratha officers had been written, when the emperor broke off negotiations. Taught by bitter experience, he mistrusted the good faith of his son and formed the belief that the negotiations were only a screen for his impending treachery. It was the prince's intention to join with Shahu the Marathas and with their aid to depose Aurangzib and usurp the throne of Delhi. The emperor dismissed the Maratha envoys, recalled his own, and leaving the Maratha country led his grand army to the siege of Wakinkera (1706).

After the fall of Bijapur, the Moghul generals reduced the fortresses owned by Sikandar Adil Shah. One of these, Sagar, between the confluence of the Bhima and the Krishna, was held by one Pem Naik*, the chief of a wild tribe called Berads, a name which the Musulman historians corrupted into Bedars or fearless ones. On the approach of the Moghul army, Pem Naik at once submitted and presenting himself at court was raised to the rank of a commander of five thousand. But the savage chieftain soon pined for his own wild highlands and asked for and obtained leave to go to Wakinkera, a walled village fifteen miles from Sagar. On his death shortly afterwards, Pirya Naik, setting aside the claims of Pem Naik's son, also called Pem Naik, succeeded to the headship of the Berad tribe. He presented himself at court, was given a command of five thousand and did excellent service under Rohulla Khan at the siege of Raichur. After the fall of that place he withdrew to Wakinkera and fortifying it became a robber chief. He collected round him fourteen

*My account taken from Khafi Khan differs slightly from that of Grant Duff.

thousand infantry and four or five thousand horse. Allying himself to the Marathas, his attacks on the Moghul convoys prolonged without doubt the defence of Jinji. In vain the emperor sent against him a series of commanders. Some he successfully resisted, others he bribed. Aurangzib next sent against him his cousin Pem Naik, the lawful head of the Berads. But the wild tribesmen had no precise notion of the laws of succession and supported one whom they knew to be brave and fortunate. Pirya Naik drove away Pem Naik and cajoled the emperor with a present of seven lakhs. But neither threats nor danger checked the depredations of the Berad chief. While Aurangzib was besieging the Deccan forts, Pirya Naik seized a succession of convoys so valuable that the emperor, unable any longer to control his anger, abandoned in a fit of senile spite his whole plan of campaign. Leaving the Deccan he devoted his last days to the conquest of Wakinkera*.

No decision could better have pleased the Marathas. Tarabai at once commanded Dhanaji Jadav to do all he could to thwart the besiegers, while she directed her generals to retake the Deccan forts. Ramchandra Bavdekar, although he had spoken warmly against Tarabai's usurpation of the throne for her son Shivaji, never relaxed his efforts in the national cause. On the departure of the grand army, he bribed the Moghul commandants of Panhala and Pawangad and with their connivance retook the fortresses†. He then ordered Parashuram Trimbak to retake Satara and Parali. The duty of retaking Satara Parashuram Trimbak delegated to a Brahman named Anaji. Anaji had been at one time a clerk attached to a company of Mawal infantry and he justified his superior's choice. He dressed himself in the garb of an anchorite and by performing a series of severe penances§ outside the fort gates but in the

*The correct spelling is Wakinkheden, but I have adhered to the spelling sanctioned by long usage.

†Vithoji Kesarkar and Baloji Myle commanded the Maratha forces.

§Chitnis Bakhar.

sight of the garrison, led the Hindu sepoys to admit him. Inside the fort he made no attempt to hide, but built himself a straw shed, wherein he lived on so harsh a diet that he convinced the Moghul commandant that he was indifferent to the things of this world and cared only for his own future in the next. With careless contempt the Moghul let the anchorite roam as he would. By money and eloquence Anaji artfully corrupted the Hindu soldiers among the garrison. At the same time he kept in constant touch with Parashuram Trimbak, until one night the latter at the head of a storming party took Satara by escalade and put the garrison to the sword. A few days later Parashuram Trimbak took Parali by escalade. This was the signal for a great religious rejoicing. Ramdas' images of Rama and Sita were brought back in triumph from Wasota and Ramdas' own shrine was opened and purified.

About the same time as Satara and Parali were retaken, Shankar Narayan Gandekar retook Sinhgad, Rajgad and Torna. Having thus robbed Aurangzib of the fruits of his recent campaign, the Maratha captains concentrated their divisions in the neighbourhood of Wakinkera. Pirya Naik had made a gallant defence and from guns of every calibre had fired cannon balls and showered rockets on the Moghul lines. Nevertheless the emperor pressed the siege with vigour and seemed on the point of taking Wakinkera when he was compelled to meet a general attack by Dhanaji Jadav at the head of largely increased forces. Dhanaji Jadav and several other Maratha leaders had in 1703 entrusted their wives to Pirya Naik's keeping. They now formed a bold scheme for their rescue. The Maratha army pressed home a vigorous attack on the besiegers and were with difficulty beaten off. During the battle a body of three thousand horse cut their way through the investing lines and into the fort. There they mounted the generals' wives on spare horses and once more cut their way out. In spite of this success the emperor's progress continued, so the Berad chief had re-

course to a ruse. His brother Som Shankar* presented himself at the Moghul headquarters and asked forgiveness for Pirya Naik and a week's truce. His erring brother, so Som Shankar said, had gone mad and jumped from the fort walls. If nothing was heard of him at the end of a week he, Som Shankar, would surrender. The week passed and a small force under Muhtasham Khan entered Wakinkera to take possession of it in the emperor's name. But the shrieks and screams of Pirya's mother for her missing son so distressed the new commandant that for several days he did not disturb her possession. At last he insisted that she should hand over the citadel. The old lady with streaming eyes consented, but prayed that Som Shankar should be sent back from the Moghul lines, as he alone knew where his brother had buried his treasures. Her prayer was granted and Som Shankar returned. No sooner had he done so than Pirya Naik emerged from hiding, seized Muhtasham Khan and the men with him and once more closed the gates in the face of the enemy. The delay gained by the arts of Pirya, Som Shankar and their mother had enabled fresh bodies of Marathas to join Dhanaji Jadav; so Aurangzib ordered Zulfikar Khan to hasten to him with all available reinforcements. The arrival of this talented commander restored confidence in the investing army and once again the siege progressed. Zulfikar Khan skilfully seized the wells on which the garrison depended, and following up this success he pushed his trenches so near the main works of the fortress that the emperor fixed the following day for a general assault. Pirya Naik realised that Wakinkera was no longer tenable. He left three thousand picked troops with orders to defend the walls to the last. With the rest of his army he left the fortress by a number of secret tunnels which he had dug for such an emergency and joined Dhanaji Jadav. When Zulfikar Khan next day made his way into Wakinkera over the bodies of Pirya Naik's rearguard, he found

* Khafi Khan.

an empty fortress (27th April 1705). The guns had been destroyed, the provisions burnt and everything of value taken away by the fleeing garrison. The emperor affected to be pleased by the fall of Wakinkera and renamed it Rahman Baksh, or the gift of the Merciful One. But the escape of Pirya Naik, following as it did the loss of Satara Parali, Rajgad, Sinhgad, Torna and Panhala, for the capture of which he had sacrificed his grand army, preyed on his mind. He fell seriously ill and for ten or twelve days his life was despaired of. He recovered, but he knew himself a beaten man. He had but one desire and that was to withdraw safely his army and himself from the country which he no longer hoped to conquer. (December 1706.)

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE MARATHA COUNTER-OFFENSIVE RETREAT AND DEATH OF THE EMPEROR RELEASE AND CORONATION OF SHAHU

A. D. 1706 TO 1708

AURANGZIB had recourse to two devices in the hope of securing an unmolested retreat. First he sent Zulfikar Khan to besiege Sinhgad, and thus create in the minds of the Marathas the belief that he still intended to reduce their fortresses. Next he made Shahu write to various Maratha leaders and call on them to submit. These letters, the emperor hoped, would create such divisions among his enemies as would enable him to escape from their assaults. Neither device was successful. Zulfikar Khan with his usual skill retook Sinhgad but had then to try and rejoin the emperor, thus betraying the latter's plan; and directly Zulfikar Khan left the neighbourhood Shankar Narayan once more scaled Sinhgad[1]. Shahu's letters, written as they were at the dictation of Aurangzib, were very properly disregarded. Seeing that the grand army was about to fall back, the Marathas strained every nerve to destroy it, before it reached a place of safety. Hamid-ud-din Khan was in charge of the Moghul rearguard. But so anxious was he to save himself, that he gave the post of danger to younger and untried officers. Between Bahadurpur and Ahmadnagar, which the retreating army was struggling to reach, Dhanaji Jadav with a great Maratha force fell upon the rearguard. It was entirely destroyed or dispersed, its commanders were killed or held to ransom and the emperor's own baggage

[1] Scott's Deccan.

train was taken. Indeed had Dhanaji Jadav pressed his success he could have captured Aurangzib himself. But when the Marathas had cut their way to the emperor's bodyguards, the near presence and pomp of majesty so overawed them, that they did not dare advance. To this circumstance alone Aurangzib owed his escape from their arms.

At last the walls of the great fort built by Ahmad Nizam Shah offered a kindly refuge to the war-worn autocrat. Twenty-one years before he had camped there, confident that in a few months' time he would, like Ala-ud-din, have added all southern India to his dominion. He reached it now in January 1707, bankrupt in hopes and power, his army shattered, his treasury empty, conscious that his sons were but waiting for his death to begin anew the struggle for the Delhi throne. All around him were Maratha armies led by Dhanaji Jadav, Nemaji Sindia and Udaji Pawar, and for a time it seemed that even Ahmadnagar could not long protect him. Happily for Aurangzib, he had with him Iklas Khan, the son of that Sheikh Nizam Haidarabadi who had shared with his father the credit of Sambhaji's capture. Iklas Khan, who had been honoured by the title of Khan Alam or lord of the known world, reorganised the troops, dismissed such officers as had particularly disgraced themselves and inspired in the cowering fragments of the grand army some of his own courage. Early in February 1707 he led a Moghul force out of the shelter of Ahmadnagar and inflicted a severe reverse on Dhanaji Jadav. The respite thus gained enabled Zulfikar Khan to effect a junction with Aurangzib. The arrival of this able soldier restored for a time, at any rate, the Moghul fortunes. He was at once put in chief command and Iklas Khan sent to guard Central India. Zulfikar Khan stored his baggage in Ahmadnagar fort and organised a strong flying column. With it he pursued Dhanaji Jadav, and driving him first across the Bhima and then across the Krishna, encamped at Miraj.

But a more powerful foe than any Maratha leader had risen up against Aurangzib. About the 15th February 1707, the emperor was attacked by fever. He aggravated his illness by unceasing prayers; and although he shewed himself daily to his officers they could see on his countenance the stamp of death. Hamid-ud-din Khan, who in spite of his recent cowardice in the field, really loved his master, sought counsel of some Hindu astrologers. They, after the manner of their kind, prescribed that Aurangzib should give in charity a rich jewel and a royal elephant. The emperor contemptuously wrote on the back of the prescription that to give away an elephant was not the custom of a good Musulman but the accursed practice of Hindus and star-worshippers*. Then he sent a letter with four thousand rupees to the chief Kazi of Ahmadnagar and asked that they should be distributed among the deserving poor. He ended the letter with a Persian couplet, which being interpreted ran as follows:

> "Carry this creature of dust quickly to the first burial place
> And consign him to the earth without any useless coffin."

He did not, however, pass away until the 3rd March and his last days were embittered by the quarrels of his sons. Mahomed Akbar and Sultan Mahomed were dead. The three survivors were inflamed by mutual enmity. Shah Alam the eldest, had been released some years before and was governor of the Panjab. Azim Shah was governor of Ahmadabad. Kam Baksh was with the emperor. Of these the most ambitious and self-confident was Azim Shah. Hearing of his father's failing health, he begged leave to visit him, pleading that the air of Ahmadabad did not suit him. The emperor had, when about to rebel against Shah Jehan, written in the same strain and he fancied that Azim Shah meant to follow his example. He wrote back refusing Azim Shah leave, adding sardonically that all airs (*hava*) suited a man's health except the airs (*hava*) of ambition. Azim Shah, undaunted by this rebuff,

* Khafi Khan.

persisted in his petitions and at last obtained leave. He reached Ahmadnagar a few days before the emperor's death and at once picked a quarrel with Kam Baksh, his father's youngest and favourite son. At last Aurangzib to separate them sent Kam Baksh to Bijapur and appointed Azim Shah to be governor of Central India. Nevertheless he knew that after they had left, their partisans were intriguing, scheming, canvassing among the soldiers to secure the succession. In despair the emperor drew up a will, by which he divided his empire between his sons and entrusted it to Hamid-ud-din Khan. On the morning of 3rd March 1707 Aurangzib rose as usual and said, as strictly as ever, his morning prayer. An hour later he was dead. He had reigned for forty-nine years and was in his eighty-ninth year.

It is difficult, if not imposible, for a historian of the Maratha people to do justice to Aurangzib. His conduct towards Shivaji and Sambhaji was treacherous and cruel. His every relation with the kings of Bijapur and Golconda was stained with inhumanity and perfidy. His kindness towards Shahu was prompted by political rather than charitable motives. Still it must be conceded that of all the Delhi emperors the memory of Aurangzib is dearest to Indian Musulmans. If to Hindus he was cruel and intolerant, to the orthodox* followers of Islam he was gracious and indulgent. Yet his excessive partiality to Musulmans convicts the emperor of folly. The Moghul throne was guarded by the swords of the Rajput clans. Conquered and conciliated by Akbar, honoured alike by Jahangir and Shah Jehan, the chiefs of Rajasthan had during their three reigns been the bulwark of the house of Timur. The soul of chivalry, they had poured out like water in the service of the empire, the best blood of their kingdoms. It was not until they had suffered a succession of insults from the bigoted Aurangzib that their hearts

*Aurangzib treated the kings of Bijapur and Golconda badly because they were Shias.

turned against him.) In his youth Aurangzib had rebelled and imprisoned an indulgent father and murdered two of his brothers. The crimes of his youth bore bitter fruit. Through his long life he was haunted by the fear that his sons would behave to him as he had behaved towards Shah Jehan; and his great campaign in the south was several times frustrated by the treasons of his family. In considering the character of Aurangzib, it is impossible not to recall another great emperor, who nearly seventeen hundred years before ended his days in the little island of Capri. Nature had bestowed on Tiberius a commanding presence, a penetrating mind, the power to lead armies and to rule senates. Humiliated by his adopted father, betrayed by his wife, his daughter-in-law and his dearest friend, he grew into a tyrant, evil and suspicious. Yet had the murderer of Agrippina and Drusus lived during the wars against Carthage, he might well have emulated his kinsman and namesake, who on the banks of the Metaurus saved the fortunes of Italy. Had Aurangzib not been born in the purple, his courage, his military talents, his frugal and virtuous life would assuredly have won him high distinction; and the murderer of Dara Shukoh and Sultan Morad might well have left a respected name, as one of the bravest and most fortunate of the Moghul commanders.

No sooner had the news of their father's death reached the ears of the rival princes, than they all prepared for war. Shah Alam, the eldest, was at Peshawar and at once started for the capital. Nearer than his brothers, he reached Delhi first and making himself master of what remained of the Moghul treasure, he proclaimed himself emperor. Azim Shah, who had at first returned to Ahmadnagar, marched to oppose him with the Malwa troops and the remains of the grand army. At Zulfikar Khan's advice, he released Shahu, so that the Marathas involved in their own disputes, might not molest him. Shah Alam, whose kindly nature abhorred the fratricidal strife, offered Azim Shah for a kingdom the provinces of the Deccan

and Guzerat. But the younger brother contemptuously refused the offer, observing that for the son of a Moghul emperor there was no choice save between a coffin and a throne*. The contending armies met at Jaju, fifteen miles from Agra. Azim Shah was defeated. Refusing to surrender, he died on the battlefield. After the death of his more serious rival, Shah Alam offered to confirm Kam Baksh in his governorship of Bijapur and Golconda. But the Moghal prince thought that to refuse battle would stain the honour of a descendant of Timur. Zulfikar Khan who, after Azim Shah's defeat had been pardoned and promoted by the kindly Shah Alam, was sent with an army against Kam Baksh. The general and the prince had been inflamed by mutual enmity since the siege of Jinji and Zulfikar Khan fell upon Kam Baksh, his talents whetted by the fury of his hatred. The result of the battle was never in doubt. Kam Baksh's army was destroyed and the prince wounded and taken. Shah Alam tried to console his brother, but the proud youth could not endure his misfortunes and he died a day or two after the downfall of his hopes. He was buried near the tomb of his ancestor Humayun. (After the death and defeat of his two brothers Shah Alam under the title of Bahadur Shah became emperor of Delhi in February 1708 A. D. The quarrels of the dead emperor's sons had given Tarabai a chance of increasing the Maratha conquests.) Poona and Chakan were at this time held for the Moghuls by an officer named Lodi Khan. Him Dhanaji Jadav attacked and defeated and Tarabai began to weave further schemes for the extension of her son's dominion. These schemes were frustrated by the release of Shahu. As a condition of his release he had agreed to rule as a feudatory of Azim Shah and to leave behind him as hostages his surviving wife, his mistress Virubai, a pretty slave girl whom Aurangzib had given him at the time of his marriage, his mother Yesubai and his illegitimate half-brother Madansing. On the other

*Takht ya takhta, was the Persian saying.

hand Azim Shah had granted Shahu the *sardeshmukhi* and the *chauth* over the six Deccan subhas*. Shahu was also appointed governor of Gondwana, Guzerat and Tanjore during good behaviour.

For Shahu's escort Azim Shah detached a few Rangad† troopers. His personal attendant Jyotaji Kesarkar, the patil or headman of Punal near Panhala, went with Yesubai to Delhi, in order that he might get the sanad from the hands of the emperor. Events, however, had turned out contrary to Azim Shah's hopes and by the time Jyotaji Kesarkar reached the capital, Shah Alam was emperor. A quarrel now arose between Zulfikar Khan and Munim Khan, the vazir, as to whether the new emperor should recognise Shahu or Tarabai's son Shivaji. At last Zulfikar Khan contrived the recognition of Shahu. Zulfikar Khan was subhedar or viceroy of the Deccan and he had appointed Daud Khan, the captor of Jinji, as his deputy. Zulfikar Khan made Daud Khan agree to grant the claims of Shahu to the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* over the six subhas of the Deccan, provided they were collected and paid by Daud Khan's own lieutenants.

Shahu's return was not greeted by the rejoicings that had welcomed the return of Shivaji or indeed of Rajaram. Shahu's situation resembled that of Herod Agrippa. Both princes had been brought up in a foreign capital and had all but wholly lost touch with their own countrymen. But Shahu's case was even worse than Herod's, for Tarabai had in his absence usurped his throne for her own son Shivaji. Indeed had the latter been a boy of ordinary understanding, it is probable that Shahu would never have regained his throne. Rajaram had indeed chivalrously styled himself Shahu's deputy. But for political purposes

*The six subhas of the Deccan were Khandesh, Berar, Aurangabad, Bedar, Haidarabad or Golconda and Bijapur. The two last became greatly enlarged by conquests. The southern provinces overrun by the Moghul armies were divided between these two subhas and were called respectively the Haidarabad or Bijapur Carnatic.

†Rangads are Rajput converts to Islam.

he had assumed the royal insignia and the Maratha people had all regarded him as their king. They therefore deemed the succession of his son Shivaji as the natural descent of the crown. But Shivaji was an idiot and Rajasbai, Tarabai's co-wife, was sedulously pushing the claims of her son Sambhaji. Many, therefore, of the Maratha nobles were ready to support Shahu to avert a civil war between Rajaram's widows. Tarabai, however, proclaimed that Shahu was an impostor and that Sambhaji's son had died many years before. Not to lose a weapon against the Marathas, Aurangzib had substituted for the dead prince another boy of the same age. Tarabai's proclamation was not inherently improbable, since Aurangzib had adopted this very course when, on Jasvant Sing's death, his two sons had escaped from Delhi to Udaipur. Tarabai commanded her officers to swear on milk and boiled rice fidelity to her son against all claimants. Three only obeyed. They were Parashuram Trimbak who owed to her the office of Pratinidhi, Ramchandra Bavdekar, who had been won over entirely to Tarabai's cause and Shankar Narayan whose reverence for Ramchandra Bavdekar impelled him to adopt the views of his former master, whatever they were. The others would only swear fidelity to Shivaji, provided Shahu proved to be an impostor. Thus the question really narrowed itself to this — was Shahu Sambhaji's son or not?

As Shahu rode through the mountain passes to Burhanpur, he for the first time learnt of Tarabai's designs. In a hilly tract, not far from Burhanpur, lived a zamindar Sajjansing by name. From him Shahu begged arms and men, and indeed he needed them, for his only troops were his escort of fifty Rangad horse. Sajjansing promised Shahu his support. Encouraged by the zamindar's adhesion, Shahu sent letters to the chief Maratha leaders appealing to their loyalty. The first to join him was Parsoji Bhosle. The next was a robber baron named Amritrao Kadam Bande, who had a castle at Kokarmanda

on the banks of the Tapti. The third was Chimnaji Damodar Moghe in command of the Maratha troops in South Khandesh. A movement of this kind is infectious. Haibatrao Nimbalkar and Nemaji Sindia, the two Maratha officers in Baglan and northern Nasik, followed the lead of Parsoji Bhosle. Shahu now felt sufficiently strong to send to Tarabai a letter announcing his arival and demanding his throne. He then halted at Ahmadnagar, where according to the Musulman historian* he visited the spot where Aurangzib, for whom he had always cherished kindly feelings, had died where his heart is still turned. From Ahmadnagar Shahu went to a little township called Parad†. The headman, a Maratha named Lokhande held the village in the Moghul interest. He closed the gates, fired on Shahu's outposts and shot dead the royal messenger, who called on him as a loyal subject to open the town. Shahu decided to make an example of the truculent peasants. He sent for his artillery and battered a breach in the walls. As he was about to order the assault, the headman's daughter-in-law rushed out of the village and put her baby at the king's feet and begged him to spare it. The king greeted the young woman kindly and had her taken to a place of safety. He then ordered the attack. The troops poured through the breach and put to the sword Lokhande and most of the villagers. Gratified with this success, the king on his return to camp adopted the Lokhande baby as his own, gave him the surname of Bhosle and called him Fatehsing or the Lion of Victory. He gave him also the fief of Akalkot which Aurangzib had given§ to Shahu as a wedding present, when he married him to Ambikabai, the daughter of Jadav of Sindkhed, and to Savitrabai, the daughter of Sindia of Kanherkhed. The baby grew to be

* Khafi Khan.

† Shedgaokar Bakhar.

§Aurangzib at the same time gave Shahu Indapur and the swords of Shivaji and Afzul Khan taken at Raygad.

a man, and became the ancestor of the well-known Rajas of Akalkot.

From Parad Shahu marched to Khed, a town in the Poona district on the Bhima river. There he met the large army which Tarabai had sent against him under the leadership of Dhanaji Jadav and Mansing More. With them better to serve her interests she had sent Khando Ballal Chitnis. Shahu was unwilling to risk a battle against so redoubtable a captain as Dhanaji Jadav, so he resorted to other means. Taking with him his personal attendant Jyotaji Kesarkar who had overtaken him at Burhanpur he mounted his elephant and went boldly towards the enemy's lines until he could distinguish Dhanaji Jadav and Mansing More. He then called on them to join their lawful master. Their allegiance to Tarabai had already been shaken by Shahu's letters. His resolute action now convinced them that the prince was no impostor. They went over with their troops to Shahu and by their desertion enabled Shahu to defeat and disperse Tarabai's forces. After the victory Shahu marched through Chakan, Poona, Jejuri and laid siege to Chandan Wandan a great double fortress visible from Satara town. It surrendered after a short siege. Parashuram Trimbak with the remains of the Khed army threw himself into Satara fort and refused to admit that Shahu was king Sambhaji's son. Unwilling to press matters against his aunt, Shahu engaged in a desultory siege of the place. He was moved to more vigorous action by the unsolicited advice of an old Maratha woman. One day he had gone hunting and overtaken by darkness he took shelter in a village called Banavadi*. The patil's wife, an aged lady, offered him for supper some boiled rice. Shahu with a hunter's appetite hastily took a mouthful and burnt himself. His hostess, ignorant of her guest's identity observed, "You are behaving like King Shahu. Instead of reducing the countryside he wastes his time, trying to take the capital. In the same way, you instead

* Shedgaokar Bakhar.

of taking the rice at the edge of your plate, where it is cool, take it from the middle where it is still too hot to eat." Next day Shahu returned to his army and followed the old lady's excellent advice. Leaving an investing force round Satara fort, he reduced the Krishna and Yenna valleys and then returned to crush Parashuram's resistance. The commandant of Satara fort was a Musulman named Sheikh Mira, whose wife and children were at Wai. Shahu had them arrested and brought below the walls of Satara. There he tied them to guns, threatening to blow them to pieces unless Sheikh Mira surrendered. The threat proved too much for the commandant. He seized Parashuram Trimbak, and handed over to Shahu the fortress of Satara. The king entered the great stronghold in state and flung Parashuram Trimbak into a dungeon. Sheikh Mira was deeply concerned about the fate of Parashuram Trimbak, whom he warmly liked and respected. Before surrendering Satara, he had made the king promise to give him in return for the fortress anything he asked for. When Shahu had secured it he asked Sheikh Mira to name his reward. Sheikh Mira threw himself at the royal feet and begged him to release Parashuram and make him his Pratinidhi. The king unwilling to break his word sent for Parashuram and offered to confirm him in his post. The latter felt deeply grateful to Sheikh Mira, but he would not abandon Tarabai. The king sent him back to prison but to honour him had his iron fetters changed to silver ones. Shortly after Satara, Parali, and Mahimangad surrendered to Shahu.

The prince had wished to make Ahmadnagar his capital but Zulfikar Khan would not permit its occupation by the Marathas. Shahu, therefore, selected Satara which since Rajaram's time had been the Maratha headquarters. Now master of it, he thought the time favourable for his coronation. In January 1708* he ascended the throne with all

* The date of Shahu's coronation has been settled by a letter quoted by Mr. Sardesai. The capture of Satara has always been regarded by Shahu's successors

the ceremonial adopted by Shivaji. Since Parashuram Trimbak would not desert Tarabai, Shahu gave the post of Pratinidhi to Gadadhar Pralhad. He gave the post of Peshwa to Bahiro Pingle, the son of Moro Pingle.† He gave to Hanmante the office of Pant Amatya held by Ramchandra Nilakanth, who after a quarrel with Tarabai was now more devoted to her than ever. The queen had been greatly disturbed by Shahu's success at Parad. She vented her ill temper so violently on Ramchandra Nilkanth that in his wrath he sent a friendly message to the young king. This came to the knowledge of the queen. She promptly put Ramchandra in silver chains and threw him into a dungeon. On hearing of Dhanaji Jadav's desertion and of the fall of Satara she grew desperate. She opened the door of Ramchandra Nilkanth's prison and had him escorted with great honour into her presence. On his arrival she placed in his lap her son Shivaji and her step-son Sambhaji and imploring him to protect them, made him her chief minister. From that time on Ramchandra Nilkanth remained her loyal servant. The king left vacant the post of Pant Sachiv held by Shankar Narayen, who stood by Tarabai. The office of commander-in-chief he gave to Dhanaji Jadav.

Having thus settled his Government, Shahu resolved to visit Parali in person and win to his cause the powerful spiritual aid of Ramdas' followers. The saint on his death had resigned the management of Ramchandra's temple to his female disciple Akka. She received Shahu and acknowledged him as Sambhaji's son. She next begged that he would free her in her old age from the arduous task assigned to her and give it to Gangadhar Swami, the

---

as the most important event in his reign. It was taken on a Saturday and it was always the custom of the Maharajas of Satara—now it is the custom of their descendants, the Sardars of Satara—to sound drums on Saturday in honour of the event. Sheikh Mira was the ancestor of the present Sardar of Wai.

† Nilo Pingle, Bahiro's elder brother, remained with Tarabai.

grandson of Ramdas' elder brother Shreshta.* The king agreed and sent a palanquin with an escort to fetch Gangadhar. In due course Gangadhar came and while waiting for leave to visit the king put up in a house on the banks of the Krishna a few miles away. The king hearing of this went to see him but found him in a deep religious trance. Shahu waited patiently until Gangadhar recovered consciousness. He then bowed in front of Ramdas' kinsman and invited him to go with him to Satara, where for four or five days he entertained the Swami in splendid state. The king thus strove to propitiate orthodox Hindu opinion and to gain over those, who had been alienated from him by his long residence at the Moghul court and by his recent pilgrimage to the tomb of the dead emperor.

* This was his title just as Ramdas' was Samartha. Shreshta's real name was Gangadhar like his grandson's.

APPENDIX

The following is a specimen of the letters sent by Shahu to Maratha Officers and Nobles as he advanced.

From Maharaja Shahu

To Malaji Jedhe Deshmukh of Rohidkhora.

"We, the Maharaja, are pleased to order you as follows:—We are at present at Chorwad District Utran in Khandesh. We are advancing by rapid marches. You have long served the crown. Come therefore now and serve us. As we advance join us with your followers. When we meet, we shall consider how best we can reward you. Fail not to act as we bid you."

Sardesai vol. I.

CHAPTER XXXV*

SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE HIGH CASTES IN MAHARASHTRA

THE present stage in our History is, as it seems to me, a suitable one in which to examine for a moment the customs and observances of the people whose story I am relating. The English reader will greatly err, if he thinks that they in any way resemble those of western Europe. The Hindu's life is bound up in an intricate ceremonial quite foreign to the experience of Englishmen. Indeed in his mode of life, in his demeanour, in his mental outlook, when unaffected by contact with Europeans, the Hindu far more resembles the Hellene or Roman of classical times than the westerner of to-day. Nor is this extraordinary. Hinduism is the eldest of three great sister Aryan civilisations. The younger sisters were Hellenism and Mazdaism. In the first century before Christ Hellenism was mistress of the Mediterranean and the Euxine and from Marseilles to Trebizond, the populations worshipped the gods of Attica. In Iran flourished still the worship of the great Ahura Mazda, whose ears had once heard the prayers of Cyrus the king, the Achaemenian. In India Hinduism had reigned supreme for at least ten centuries. But if we pass over six hundred years, what do we find? Hellenism has vanished completely. She has given place to Christianity, an offshoot of Judaism. If we pass over yet another six hundred years, we find that a second offshoot of Judaism, Islam, has swept away Mazdaism. But the onslaughts of both these Semitic

* This chapter is largely based on chapter III, vol. XVIII, pp. 112 to 154, Campbell's Gazetteer.

faiths were successfully resisted by the eldest of the three sisters, Hinduism. Nor does she shew at the present hour any signs of senile decay. She still lives in the full vigour of her eternal youth; and her acolytes number at least three hundred millions. It has thus happened that while the European has in the last two thousand years changed entirely, the Hindu of to-day worships the same gods, observes the same ritual, leads the same home-life, as he did when Pericles invoked Pallas at Athens or when Mars and Jupiter received at Rome the sacrifices of Æmilius and Scipio.

Now in all India there are probably no more orthodox Hindus than the Maratha people and the Hinduism which they profess is of the most austere and puritan type. The extravagances which find a place in the religion of some other Indian nations are looked on with disfavour by the sober, simple-minded dwellers in the Deccan. In this chapter I shall try to give my English readers a more vivid idea of their private lives by sketching, as briefly as I can, some of the family observances of the high caste Hindus of Maharashtra.

For her first confinement the young Brahman wife generally goes to her father's house. As soon as her baby boy is born, he is laid in a winnowing fan. Mother and child are bathed in hot water, a fire is lit in the room, myrrh is burnt and an iron bar laid across the threshold. When the father hears of his son's birth he hastens to his father-in-law's house to perform the *Jatkarma* or birth-ceremony. Before he begins it, he bathes carefully, dons a rich silk waistcloth, pours a ladle full of water on the ground, saying: "I throw this water to cleanse the child from the impurity of its mother's body." The mother then brings the child in her arms and sits on a stool close to her husband. The father takes a gold ring, passes it through some honey and clarified butter and lets a drop fall into the child's mouth. He touches the child's shoulders with his right hand and presses the ring in his

left hand against both its ears. He recites some holy verses and smells the child's head three times. The father with the ring in his right hand sprinkles water on his wife's right breast. She may then begin to suckle her child. A present of money to priests ends the birth-ceremony.

The child, if a boy, is given its name on the twelfth day after its birth. First its ears are bored for earrings. Then the family astrologer draws the child's horoscope and indicates four names. Three of these he selects himself. The fourth the parents choose. The father then reads the four names aloud that all may hear. The astrologer reads out the horoscope and calls a blessing on the child's head, saying, "May the child live to a good old age." When the boy is a month old, the mother shews him to the Sun and prays to the Sun-god to guard him. The parents then walk to the village temple, give the god a packet of betel-nut and a cocoanut and beg the Sun-god to be kind to their boy. When the family party return home, the father worships the earth, the moon and sun, the gods Shiva and Vishnu and the ten directions. A carpet is spread; on it are placed some carpenter's tools, some pieces of cloth, a pen, an ink-pot and paper and some jewelry. The boy is laid on his face near them. The first of these articles that he clutches is supposed to indicate the calling for which he is most suited.

The boy's birthday is a festival in both east and west. But it is celebrated in the Deccan by observances unknown in Europe. In the morning a square is traced in the women's hall. Three low wooden stools are set in the square, two in a line and a third in front of them. On the front stool are piled eighteen little rice heaps and on each heap a betel-nut. One of the betel-nuts is the family deity, two represent the boy's parents, the others stand for various heroes and gods of the two great epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. On the two stools sit the father and the mother with the boy on her lap; and a

married woman marks the child's brow with red powder. All then bow to the house gods and the elders of the family; and the deities are asked to give the child a long life. The boy drinks from a silver cup some milk mixed with molasses and sesamum and then he is free to enjoy his birthday as only healthy little boys can.

The *munj* or thread-girding ceremony corresponds in some measure with the Christian confirmation. By the one the high caste man is admitted to the caste. By the other the Christian becomes a fully responsible member of the Christian community. The thread-girding ceremony is very elaborate indeed and a detailed account of it would be both too long and too tedious. I shall mention only a few of the more important incidents. When the little boy is between seven and ten, a day for the great occasion has to be fixed by the astrologer in one of the months when the sun is going northwards, *i. e.* January to June. This settled, a band is hired, a porch built in front of the house and invitations sent to relatives living at a distance. Other relations, the house gods, the village gods, caste men and friends in the neighbourhood are invited orally. On the morning of the thread-girding ceremony twelve low wooden stools are set in a row and twelve unmarried thread-wearing Brahman lads take their seats on the stools. Dinner is served and for the last time the boy dines with his mother. After a variety of most complicated rites, the boy tells his father that he wishes to become a Brahman and be told the sacred verse. He nestles close to his father and the priests cover them with a shawl. That no one else, high caste or low caste, man or woman may hear the verse, everyone present goes to a little distance. The father three times whispers the sacred verse into his son's right ear and the boy repeats it after his father. The shawl is then removed, the priests invoke blessings on the boy's head and the sacred thread is tied with three knots round his waist. A staff is put in his hand and his father addresses his son—"Till now

you have been a Sudra (low caste), now you are a Brahman and a Brahmachari (Brahman student)". The boy is now supposed to become a begging Brahman. That evening he goes to the village temple, worships the village god and on his return begs alms from his mother and other close relations. For ten or twelve days he learns the sandhyas or evening prayers, worships the tulsi plant or holy basil and then rejoins his family. A number of intricate ceremonies follow. On their completion, the family priest flings a waistcloth over his shoulders, bids him never bathe in the evening, never look at naked women, never commit adultery, never run, never climb trees, never go into a well, never swim in a river. "Up to this time," the priest continues, "you have been a Brahmachari; now you are a *snatak* or householder."

This point reached, the boy starts out as if to go on a journey. His maternal uncle or other near relation feigns surprise and asks him where he is going. He replies, "To Benares;" in other words he proposes to become a religious anchorite on the banks of the holy Ganges. The boy's relations crowd round him and beg him not to go, promising to find him a wife. He consents to put off his pilgrimage, goes back to his house and the thread-girding ceremony ends with a feast*.

The family have now to keep their promise and find the lad a wife. Negotiations are opened with the parents of a girl of a suitable age and rank. A good deal of haggling ensues and the negotiations often fall through. If they are successful, the family astrologer is called in to fix a lucky day. The marriage ceremonies extend over a long period, but I shall at once come to the day before the wedding. In the evening the boy dresses himself in a new turban and shawl given him by his betrothed's relatives and his sister ties to his headdress a garland of flowers. With a cocoanut in his hand the boy worships his household gods and gives them the cocoanut. He next bows

* The last part of the thread-girding ceremony is called the Sod Munj.

low to the elders of his house. He is taken to the house door, his cheeks are touched with lampblack and red powder, he is seated on a horse and his relatives and friends go with him in procession to the house of his betrothed. To quiet evil spirits, cocoanuts are from time to time broken and thrown to them; and as the boy passes, the neighbours come out of their houses and wave lamps before him. On arrival at the house of his intended bride, the girl's father carries the boy into the marriage hall and seats him on a high wooden stool. After a number of minor ceremonies, the astrologer draws up two marriage papers, reads them aloud, and hands them to the fathers of the two families.

The really essential part of the marriage is the saptapadi or the taking of seven steps. The sacrificial fire is kindled. To the left of the fire are put seven small heaps of rice. The boy and girl leave their seats and the boy throws three handfuls of rice into the fire. He lifts up the girl and carrying her on his left arm walks twice round it. She then, with the help of the bridegroom walks in turn over all the seven heaps of rice. The boy then again lifts her and for the third time walks round the fire. The seven steps have now been taken and the priest leads the boy and girl out of the house and points out to them Dhruv or the Polestar. They gaze at it, bow to it and return to the house. A pretty ceremony then ensues. In turn the boy and girl take a roll of betel between their teeth and the other one bites off the end. The marriage festivities end with the throwing of coloured water over the boy by the bride's relations. Presents of clothes are exchanged and the bridegroom returns to his father's house.

The death of a high caste Hindu is as elaborately ordered as his life. When he is on the point of death, a spot in the women's hall is heaped with cowdung. Tulsi leaves are scattered over the spot and a blanket is spread over the leaves. On the blanket the dying man is laid

with his feet to the south. A few drops of water from the holy Ganges are dropped into his mouth, a learned Brahman repeats verses from the Vedas, another reads the Bhagwat Gita, the speech made by Krishna to Arjuna on the battlefield of the Kurukshetra. His relations ask the dying man to repeat "Ram! Ram!" the name of the divine hero of Ayodhya. His son sets his father's head upon his lap and comforts him, until he has drawn his last breath. When all is over, the women of the family sit round the body weeping and wailing; the male members sit in the verandah; and servants are sent to tell relatives and friends. Soon neighbours dressed in a waistcloth and shoulder cloth drop in. One of them goes to the market and buys what is needed for the funeral. On his return the body is prepared for the burning ground. It is bathed and dressed only in a loincloth. A piece of gold and an emerald are put into the mouth. Some drops of Ganges water are dropped between the lips and over the body, the two thumbs and the two great toes are tied together with cloth. The body is laid on the bier and is covered over with a cloth from head to foot. If the dead man leaves children, a hole is made in the face cloth over the mouth. If the dead man leaves a widow, she says aloud, "Because of the great evil that has befallen me, I shall shave my head." Thereupon she strips off her ornaments, breaks her bangles and her necklace, rubs off the red mark on her brow (which indicates that she is married), takes off her bodice and puts on a white robe. The family barber shaves off her hair. It is wrapped in her bodice and laid on her husband's bier. The funeral procession is now ready to start. The chief mourner walks first with a firepot hanging from a string in his hand. The bier is carried feet first by four of the dead man's nearest kinsmen. Beside the chief mourner walk two men. One holds a metal pot full of cooked rice; the other carries a winnowing fan with parched pulse and bits of cocoanut. These he throws before him to please the evil spirits.

Other male mourners follow the bier bareheaded and barefooted, repeating in a low voice "Ram, Ram!" "Jay! Jay! Ram!" No woman goes to the burning ground. When it is reached a funeral pile is built and the bier placed on it with the feet of the body to the south. The sheet over the body is pulled aside, the cloths that bind the thumbs and the loincloth are cut, so that the body may return as it first came upon earth. The chief mourner lights the pile at the head and fans it with the end of his shoulder cloth. When the skull bursts, the chief mourner stands near it with an earthen jar full of water. Another mourner makes a hole in the jar with a pebble. The chief mourner walks round the pyre, the water trickling from the jar. A second hole is made in the jar and the chief mourner walks again round the pyre. A third hole is made and a third round completed. The chief mourner throws the pot backward over his shoulder, spilling the water over the ashes. He next calls aloud striking his mouth with his hand. The procession is now ready to return home. Before starting each mourner flings a pebble towards the nearest hill or mountain to relieve his feelings.

Mourning is observed for ten days during which the deceased's family eat neither betel nor sugar and drink no milk. They neither shave their heads nor wear shoes nor turbans. On the third day the chief mourner collects the dead man's burnt bones and either throws them into a neighbouring stream or pond or buries them in a jar to be taken a year later to the Ganges or Godavari. On the eleventh day the chief mourner, if he can afford to do so, brands and sets free two calves. The bellowing of the calf when branded is believed to carry the dead man to heaven, and its first cry opens the celestial doors for the dead man to enter. If the chief mourner cannot afford to set free two live calves, he makes and sets free two calves made out of dough. A cow called the Vaitarni cow is given to a priest so that the dead man may cross the river of blood and filth that separates earth and heaven by

holding on to the cow's tail. A number of other presents are then given to the priest, and as he bestows them, the chief mourner says, "I make you these gifts that the dead man may be freed from his sins and reach heaven in safety; and that all his life there, he may have a cot to lie on, a packet of betel to eat, a maid to wait on him, an umbrella to shade him from the sun, and a stick to help him when walking." The priest after receiving these gifts is supposed to become the ghost of the deceased. The inmates, therefore, pelt him away from the house with earth and cowdung. A few other ceremonies are performed and the mourning rites are over.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE REORGANISATION

A. D. 1708 TO 1714

SHAHU should at once have followed up his victory by attacking Panhala, the seat of Tarabai's government. But he passed the monsoon of 1708 at Chandan Wandan trying to increase his forces. Among those to whom he appealed for arms and men was Sir Nicholas Waite, the Governor of Bombay, who politely regretted his inability to help him. The king did not again take the field until October 1708 after celebrating the Dasara festival. He first took Vasantgad and next led his troops against Panhala. Tarabai fled from that fortress to Rangna. Shahu invested Panhala and besieged it with vigour. In spite of its great strength he soon forced the commandant to come to terms. The latter offered to join Shahu's cause, if retained as the governor of the fortress. Shahu accepted the offer and early in 1709 moved against Vishalgad. The commandant surrendered it on the same terms that the Panhala commandant had done. The mighty stronghold of Rangna still remained in Tarabai's possession. In it were Ramchandra Nilkanth, Tarabai, her son and stepson Shivaji and Sambhaji. Ramchandra's first care was to send the royal party by a secret path to Malwan, which had once been Shivaji's naval base. He himself stayed and defended the fort with resource and resolution. Nevertheless he was soon reduced to the greatest straits. Had the siege been begun earlier Rangna must have fallen. Shahu himself directed the operations and nearly lost his life in doing so. One day as he inspected the works of the besieging army, his horse

stumbled on the edge of a precipice. Sheikh Mira, who was with the king deftly swung his master from the saddle, while Khando Ballal caught the bridle just in time to save the horse. But the season was far advanced. Shahu was unwilling to face the hardships of a monsoon campaign and readily listened to Dhanaji Jadav, who, old and war worn, suggested to his master that the time had come to raise the siege and to return to Satara.

At Satara the king consoled himself for his failure by marrying two fresh wives. One was the mild and gentle Sagunabai. The second was the haughty and imperious Sakwarbai. Both were daughters of the Shirke house. By these marriages he no doubt wished to renew the friendship of the Shirkes, which had been begun at Jinji, when Rajaram escaped through their good offices.

But if Shahu feared the rigours of a monsoon campaign, no such fears dwelt in the dauntless bosom of Tarabai. Her agents won to her cause Phond Savant of Savantwadi. In 1662, as it will be remembered, Shivaji reduced to vassalage the Savant chief Lakkam Savant. The latter died in 1665 three years after his defeat. His brother Bhav Phond succeeded him and ruled Savantwadi until 1675. He was followed by Khem Savant, a brave but faithless prince, who during the war of independence artfully increased his power by joining, as it suited his interests the standard of Rajaram or Aurangzib. When Shahu returned, Khem Savant favoured his cause. But Khem Savant died early in 1709 and was succeeded by Phond Savant. Seduced by Tarabai's promises, he sent the queen a well-equipped body of troops, with which she marched against Panhala. The commandant who had already committed one treason was soon convinced that a second treason was the only remedy for the first. Early in 1710 he surrendered the fortress to Tarabai. Gratified by her success, she brought her idiot son to Kolhapur*, which she proclaimed the capital of the Maratha kingdom.

*Panhala is only a morning's drive from Kolhapur.

She next sent her agents everywhere to corrupt the loyalty of those Maratha chiefs who had adhered to Shivaji. She urged the chiefs to make themselves independent or even join the Moghuls rather than serve under the banner of a proclaimed impostor. Her advice fell on willing ears. So long as the Moghuls threatened their independence, the Maratha chiefs willingly combined against them under the leadership of Tarabai or Rajaram. But the Moghul danger had past. The emperor and Shahu were friends. Of the two services that of the emperor offered more attractions. Military distinction could more easily be won on the far flung Moghul front than in the narrow Deccan. Moreover, the captains who served the emperor were in their own fiefs independent princes. Shivaji and his successors hitherto had given their nobles grants of money rather than assignments of land. This rule had no doubt been relaxed after the great King's death, but it still held good and Shahu, firmly seated on the throne, would no doubt enforce it. The first to join the imperial service was Nemaji Sindia. During Tarabai's regency he had established himself in Central India or Malwa*. On the death of Aurangzib, Zulfikar Khan had won him over to the cause of Bahadur Shah and he had aided Zulfikar Khan in the battle, wherein fell the unhappy Kam Baksh. His services were handsomely rewarded and he was made a commander of 7,000 horse, while high posts were also bestowed on his sons and grandsons. Other chiefs proclaimed themselves independent. The most notable of these was the Maratha Admiral Kanhoji Angre of whom a full account will be given hereafter. A Brahman named Krishnarao established himself near the great temple of Sundar Mahadev, at Khatav, a town less than twenty miles from Satara. After the capture and execution of Shivaji's son Sambhaji, Krishnarao had joined the Moghul cause and had received from the emperor the title of Maharaja and as fief or jagir the pargana or district of Khatav†. During the siege of

* Khafi Khan. † Riyasat II, p. 51.

Jinji Ramchandra Nilkanth, viceroy of Maharashtra, had given as appanage to a Maratha noble called Damaji Thorat the district of Supa, north of Poona, and that of Patas on the main road between Poona and Baramati. At Hingangaon, a village close to Patas, Damaji had built himself a strong castle and with a body of freelances used to levy contributions from the peasants up to the very walls of Satara. North of Satara, Shankar Narayan, the Pant Sachiv, held for Tarabai Poona and the great forts of Sinhgad, Purandar, Rajgad and Torna, in this way cutting Shahu off from all communication with Khandesh and Nasik. Thus by the end of 1710 the king's cause, which in 1708 had seemed so prosperous, again began to flag. His territory was reduced to the land round Satara and a few hill forts garrisoned by loyal officers. So low, indeed, had his cause sunk that but for a singular piece of good fortune, it is doubtful whether he would not himself have been forced to invoke Moghul aid and to become a petty subordinate of the empire. The fortunate event was the strange collapse of Shankar Narayan Gandekar. After his failure against Rangna, Shahu resolved to try and reduce the ring of forts round Poona. It was with their capture that the great King had begun his wonderful career and they were regarded by the Maratha people as the keys of the Maratha Kingdom. So long as they were in Tarabai's hands, her son might well be deemed the true successor of Shivaji and Sambhaji. On the other hand Tarabai, who had carefully provisioned and garrisoned them and had entrusted their defence to the skilful hands of Shankar Narayan, looked forward with confidence to their prolonged resistance. Long before her fortresses fell, her armies would be able to attack with effect Shahu's rear and retake Satara. Neither side foresaw nor could have foreseen how Shankar Narayan would act. Lovers of Walter Scott will remember how in Ivanhoe, Brian de Bois Guilbert, in the fulness of his strength and manhood and unhurt by Ivanhoe's spear, fell to the ground slain by

tbe violence of his own contending feelings. A similar fate overtook the Pant Sachiv. Trusting to Tarabai's word that Shahu was a pretending knave, Shankar Narayan had sworn to defend her son's cause against all comers. He was now convinced that Shahu was no impostor but Sambhaji's son. Devotedly loyal to the house of Shivaji, himself a hero of the war of independence, Shankar Narayan could not bear to fight against the great King's grandson. At the same time he had sworn an oath of loyalty to Tarabai, which he could not as an honourable man break. The dilemma in which he found himself was too great for that loyal, brave, and simple soul. While he hesitated what course to pursue, Shahu's troops stormed Rajgad and threatened Sinhgad and Torna. Forced at last to a decision, he chose a course of conduct, that would present itself more readily to an eastern than a western mind. He resigned his charge and his powers; and donning the garb of an anchorite, went to reside at Ambavade, a holy place on the Nira river*. But even thus he did not escape from the vexations of life. Ramchandra Nilkanth incensed at what he regarded as desertion, sharply reprimanded Shankar Narayan and accused him of cowardice. The charge weighed heavily on one who had taken cities and won stricken fields. One way remained by which he might prove to his old master that fear of death had not prompted his action. He built for himself a small raft. To each end he fastened earthen jars, in the bottoms of which holes had been bored. Seating himself on the raft, he had it towed to a deep pool in the Nira river. As the water entered the jars, the raft sank carrying with it the gallant but misguided soldier. Shahu with a magnanimity worthy of Charles II of England, took no action against Shankar Narayan's infant son, Naro Shankar. He confirmed him

* Bhor Samsthancha Itihas and Chitnis Bakhar. Ambavade is sacred to the memory of the Maratha saint Nagnath. A short account of him will be found in my "Tales of the saints of Pandharpur." The clothes of office could not be won of Shankar's son, then only a baby. They were, therefore, tied to his cradle.

in his father's office of Pant Sachiv. Not to be outdone in generosity, the child's *mutalik* or agent declared for the king and thus enabled Shahu without the loss of a single man to recover the keys of Maharashtra. (1711.)

In spite of this success the revolt of the Maratha nobles remained a serious menace. The next to leave the royal service was Chandrasen Jadhav, the son of Dhanaji Jadhav. His father's early adherence to Shahu had greatly furthered the king's cause. But in June 1710* one of Dhanaji Jadhav's many wounds reopened in his leg and after a prolonged illness, the brave old soldier died at Wadgaon on the banks of the Warna river. In the royal service but subordinate to Dhanaji was a Brahman officer named Balaji Vishvanath Bhat. He was by caste a Chitpavan Brahman, a caste of which the following curious legend is told. The story runs that Parashu Rama, the Brahman incarnation of the god Vishnu, to avenge the murder of his father Jamadagni by the Kshatriya king Sahasrarjuna, cleared the earth twenty-one times of the Kshatriya clans. Thereafter he was so reeking with blood that no other Brahmans would eat with him. He therefore went to the summit of the Sahyadris and stood gazing at the sea, which then washed the foot of the mountains, and pondered where he could find Brahmans who would dine with him. As he looked, he saw floating on the surface of the water the corpses of fourteen Mlenchas or barbarians. He dragged them ashore, built a great pyre and burnt them to ashes. From the ashes he created fourteen live Brahmans who had no scruples about eating with their creator. The meal over, the fourteen Brahmans begged Parashu Rama to give them a land wherein they might live. The hero drew the mighty bow given him by the god Shiva and shot an arrow into the Arabian Sea. He then commanded the sea to go back within its borders as far as the spot where the arrow had fallen. The ocean did so, thus leav-

*Grant Duff gives the date as 1709. But see Riyasat, vol. II., p. 12. The Hindu year was *Shake* 1632. (1632+78=1710.)

ing bare the Konkan. This reclaimed tract Parashu Rama bestowed on the fourteen Brahmans. They went to dwell there and built themselves a town called Chitpolan or the town of the burnt heart, which in course of time became Chiplun. To themselves they gave the name of Chitpavans or Brahmans purified by the funeral pyre.

Whatever truth may underlie this romantic tale*, Balaji Vishvanath Bhat and his brother Janoji were the hereditary Deshmukhs or revenue officers of Shrivardhan and Harihar, two villages to the north of Bankot creek. The office of Deshmukh or Desai was a creation of the Musulman government. The headman of the village was a Maratha patil; and under the ancient Hindu rulers, he acted directly under the supreme government. The Musulman governors sought to decentralise the administration by appointing an intermediate officer—known as Deshmukh—and usually a Brahman—to supervise the work of the patils. Besides acting as Deshmukhs, the Bhat family administered in Shrivardhan the revenues of the temples of Somaji, Laxminarayan, Baheri and Kalashri; and they yearly distributed among the Brahmans of the neighbourhood thirty-two and a half measures (Khandis) of rice. In the year 1648 the office of Deshmukh of Danda Rajpuri fell vacant and was conferred on the ancestor of Balaji and Janoji and remained in the Bhat family until 1818. According to the author of the Peshwa Bakhar, the Sidis of Janjira on becoming masters of Srivardhan confirmed Balaji and Janoji in their office. Afterwards the Sidis came to suspect the brothers of an intrigue with Kanhoji Angre. They first seized Janoji, sewed him up in a sack and rowing out a mile from land, dropped the sack into the water. Balaji succeeded in escaping to the neighbouring town of Velas on the southern

*Various authors have inferred from this tale that the Chitpavan Brahmans are foreign immigrants from Arabia, Egypt or even Scandinavia. My own view is that the legend contains no truth whatever. Exactly the same legend is told by the Benei-Israel to explain their presence in the Bombay Presidency.

side of the Bankot creek. In Velas lived a Chitpavan family called Bhanu. It consisted of three brothers Balaji Mahadev, Hari Mahadev, and Ramaji Mahadev. They received the fugitive kindly and on hearing his story resolved to flee with him. They feared that if they stayed behind, the Sidis would punish them for having harboured an enemy. They made their way to Rahimatpur where Balaji had a friend in Ghanashyam Narayan Shenvi, an officer in Dhanaji's service, who had once been hospitably entertained by Balaji's father Vishvanath. Ghanashyam welcomed the party and introducing them to Dhanaji Jadhav obtained for Balaji and two of the brothers posts under the commander-in-chief. Ramaji Mahadev took service with Shankar Narayan.

This account was accepted by Grant Duff and until recent times was regarded as the true account of the origin of the Bhat Peshwas. Modern critics, however, doubted this fantastic story. They could not believe that within six years any one, however fortunate, could even in those troubled times, rise from a humble clerkship to the post of first minister. Their suspicions were confirmed by a reference to Balaji Vishvanath Sabhasad in an official Marathi paper dated 1696. The title Sabhasad, corresponding with that of Privy Councillor, was only conferred on men who had been some years in the royal service. Balaji Vishvanath must therefore have entered it some years before 1696. The discovery of this paper was followed by the discovery of several others. They showed that from 1699 to 1702 Balaji acted as Sarsubhedar of the Poona district and from 1704 to 1707 as Sarsubhedar of Daulatabad. But just as to-day a Civil Servant does not become a Commissioner until he has served for many years as Assistant Collector and Collector, so Balaji before he became Sarsubhedar must have served as Shekhdar, Kamavisdar and Subhedar. Thus in all probability Balaji entered the royal service in Sambhaji's reign, or at any rate, in the early years of Rajaram's regency. From this it does not

follow that the legend in the Bakhars is wholly untrue. It may well be that Balaji or his father fled from Srivardhan in circumstances similar to those therein described. But the Sidis' victim could not have been Janoji, for an entry in his handwriting discovered by Mr. Rajwade, shows that in 1706 he was still alive.

In the troubles provoked by Shahu's return to the Deccan, Balaji Vishvanath found his opportunity. He was then in high office under Dhanaji Jadhav and, according to Mr. Khare, it was Balaji, who at the battle of Khed, persuaded that commander to give to Shahu his valuable support. Thereafter Dhanaji Jadhav's esteem for Balaji Vishvanath and his confidence in his capacity aroused the bitter jealousy of the former's son Chandrasen Jadhav.* Enraged that his father should prefer to his son's counsel the advice of a Konkan Brahman, Chandrasen began to intrigue with Tarabai. Upon his father's death Chandrasen was invested with the robes and the dignity of the commander-in-chief; and King Shahu releasing from prison the Pratinidhi† Parashuram sent him and Khanderao Dabhade to convey to the young noble the royal condolences. By this act of courtesy Shahu no doubt hoped to retain Chandrasen's loyalty. He failed in his object, for not long afterwards Chandrasen boasted in a letter to Tarabai that he had won to her cause Khanderao Dabhade, Mansing More and Haibatrao Nimbalkar. The king at last aware of Chandrasen's intrigues appointed Balaji Vishvanath nominally to control his collection but really to watch his conduct. The appointment of his enemy to such a post sufficed to turn Chandrasen's jealousy into murderous hatred; and he now only sought an excuse to destroy him. Late in the year 1710 Chandrasen

* Dhanaji Jadhav left three sons. The eldest Santaji, by Dhanaji's first wife, had quarrelled with his father and had separated from him and left him. By his second wife Gopikabai Dhanaji had Chandrasen and Shambhusing. We shall hear of Shambhusing later. Gopikabai burnt herself with Dhanaji Jadhav's body. Riyasat vol. II., p. 12.

† Riyasat II., p. 38.

was leading a large force near Malegaon in the Baramati taluka. As the country abounded in game, herds of antelope broke away, startled in front of it. When the troops had all but reached their camping ground, a young black buck rose suddenly at the feet of a certain Piraji, an officer in Balaji Vishvanath's contingent. Piraji with several troopers raced madly after it. After a long chase, it took shelter in the tent of Vyasrao, a Brahman clerk of Chandrasen Jadhav. Piraji demanded that the wretched beast should be handed over to him. Vyasrao, with a Brahman's tenderness for animal life, replied that he could not do so, as the beast had sought his protection. Baulked of his prey, Piraji threw his spear at Vyasrao and wounded him. Shocked at what he had done, he ran to Balaji Vishvanath and confessed his crime. Vyasrao complained to Chandrasen. The latter required the instant surrender of Piraji. Balaji while expressing his regret at Piraji's cut, refused to hand him over, claiming that it was for him to punish his subordinate. The mutual dislike of the two leaders burst into flame, Chandrasen ordered his troops to attack Balaji's contingent and to seize Piraji. Balaji fled with his men to Purandar fort and sought an asylum of the Pant Sachiv. Chandrasen brought up his force and besieging Purandar demanded Balaji as the price of peace. The Pant Sachiv, fearing the formidable vengeance of the young noble, begged Balaji to leave the fort. At dead of night the Brahman with his wife, his children, Ambaji Purandare and some five hundred horsemen stole out of Indra's fortress and fled to the Nira river. There Chandrasen overtook them and killed or dispersed Balaji's troopers. Balaji and his family accompanied by a faithful officer, named Pilaji Jadhav, and Ambaji Purandare fled for their lives to Pandavgad, the fortress which named after the Pandava heroes of the Mahabharata, still towers over Wai. From the shelter of Pandavgad, Balaji sent Ambaji Purandare to Satara to tell the king what had happened. Purandare at first approached Govindrao Chitnis, the son

of Khando Ballal Chitnis. Govindrao listened attentively to the story and sympathised with Balaji. He advised Purandare to enlist the sympathies of one Lingav, the maid servant of Shahu's mistress Virubai. Purandare followed his advice. Lingav told the tale to Virubai, who repeated it to Shahu's queen Sagunabai, and the two ladies won the royal ear. Shahu sent a force to Pandavgad to escort Balaji in safety to his capital and ordered Chandrasen to present himself at Satara and lay his case before him. The turbulent noble, instead of obeying the order, sent back a message that unless the king at once handed over Balaji to his vengeance, he (Chandrasen) would renounce his allegiance. Such language no sovereign could tolerate. He ordered Haibatrao Nimbalkar to reduce Chandrasen Jadhav to obedience. Haibatrao Nimbalkar attacked Chandrasen at Adarki in the Phaltan State, now a station on the South Maratha Railway and severely defeated him. Chandrasen with the remains of his army retired to Panhala, where he openly joined the cause of Tarabai. (April 1711.)

Worse was yet to follow. In spite of his victory over Chandrasen Jadhav, Haibatrao Nimbalkar began also to open negotiations with Kolhapur. Large detachments of the royal troops were at this time on field service in Khandesh and Berar. The only high officer on whom the king could for the moment rely was Balaji Vishvanath and his contingent had just been dispersed. Shahu, however, sent for Balaji and sought his advice how to suppress the disorders of the kingdom (1711). With the optimism of greatness Balaji undertook to raise a fresh army. He soon collected round him two thousand of his old soldiers and with these as a nucleus soon created a respectable field force. The king showed his gratitude in a fitting way. On the 20th August 1711 he conferred on his capable servant the well-deserved title of Sena Kartea or "Maker of Armies."

While Balaji was thus forging a weapon with which to

meet in the field his master's enemies, he turned against Tarabai her own armoury of intrigue. As long as that daring and active woman remained in power at Kolhapur, it was impossible to restore Shahu's authority. It so chanced that late in 1711 a fresh quarrel broke out between Tarabai and her wise old counsellor Ramchandra Nilkanth. The latter relaxed his control over the affairs of his mistress and gave Balaji the chance for which he sought. He instantly sent a message to Rajaram's younger widow Rajasbai and offered her Shahu's support, if she overthrew Tarabai and substituted for the rule of the imbecile Shivaji that of her own son Sambhaji. Eagerly Rajasbai accepted the offer. In 1712 with the aid of several of the Kolhapur nobles — Girjoji Jadhav, Antaji Trimal, Tulaji Shitole and others — she corrupted the garrison of Panhala, overthrew Tarabai's government and flung her and her son Shivaji into prison*. She then had Sambhaji crowned in Shivaji's stead. Ramchandra Nilkanth escaped Tarabai's fate but was dismissed from his office†. Chandrasen Jadhav fearing that Sambhaji might surrender him to Shahu sent his lieutenant Apparao to Nizam-ul-Mulk, the new viceroy of the Deccan. The Nizam gladly welcomed the overtures of so distinguished a commander. He offered him a fief with twenty-five lakhs a year on condition that he kept fully equipped fifteen thousand men. Chandrasen accepted the offer and from that time on was the unrelenting enemy of the Maratha cause. For a few years Sambhaji and Rajasbai grateful to Balaji for his help and advice ceased openly to make war against Shahu. Those few

*Grant Duff has related that Shivaji died of small-pox in 1713. Thereupon Ramchandra Nilkanth removed Tarabai from the government. This is not correct. Shivaji did not die until 1723. The names of Rajasbai's confederates are taken from a letter written by Tarabai herself.

"Lately," writes Tarabai, "our cause has suffered greatly. Sambhaji and Rajasbai with the help of Girjochi (*sic*) Yadav, Antaji Trimal and the garrison and Tulaji Shitole have seated Sambhaji Raja on the throne and put us in prison." Riyasat II., p. 44.

†He died in 1720.

years sufficed; and when Sambhaji again became actively hostile, Balaji had restored order in Shahu's dominions.

It must, however, be admitted that Balaji's new troops did not meet with immediate success. But that was rather the general's fault than theirs. In the cold weather of 1711 the king ordered Balaji to reduce Damaji Thorat. Balaji with Ambaji Purandare as his lieutenant led out his troops against the robber baron of Hingangaon. But they allowed themselves to be outwitted. Damaji Thorat professed himself willing to lay down his arms and invited the two commanders to enter his castle at Hingangaon and discuss with him the terms of surrender. He swore by the holy *Bel* tree and the hardly less holy *Bhandar** or turmeric that he would allow them to enter and leave Hingangaon unharmed. Balaji and Purandare thinking that no Hindu would dare break so binding a contract, went to the freebooter's castle and were at once thrown into a dungeon. To their remonstrances Damaji Thorat with odious levity replied that the *Bel* was after all but a tree and that every day all of them ate turmeric. For himself he attached no importance to such a promise. At the same time he threatened to put over their heads bags of hot ashes unless they speedily paid him a large ransom. The news of their confinement reached the king who paid the ransom and obtained their release.

Balaji undaunted by this mishap, planned next the reduction of Krishnarao of Khatao. Before, however, he set his forces in motion, he resolved, if it were humanly possible, to win over to Shahu's side Parashuram Trimbak the Pratinidhi. Ever since the fall of Satara that gallant soldier had languished in prison. For on his return from his mission to Chandrasen Jadav, the king had made him go back to his dungeon in Satara. At Balaji's advice the king released Purashuram and entrusted to him the great fort of Vishalgad and the surrounding country. Parashuram sent his eldest son Krishnaji to assume charge of his new

* *Bel* and *Bhandar* are both sacred to the god Khandoba of Jejuri.

possession. Krishnaji did so and shortly afterwards deserted to Sambhaji, who as a reward for his treachery made him Pratinidhi of the Kolhapur kingdom. Shahu furious at the son's treason, threw the father back into prison and ordered his eyes to be put out. Parashuram's second son Shripatrao was in Satara and heard of the order. He rushed to the house of Khando Ballal Chitnis, whom he found in his bath. With his garments still dripping*, the kindly Prabhu ran to Shahu's palace, reminded him of Parashuram's former services and insisted that the king should remit the cruel sentence. With the royal paper in his hand, Khando Ballal rode to Parashuram's cell. He reached it just in time. Parashuram had been flung on his back and a great stone placed on his chest. On the stone was seated the jail surgeon. Khando Ballal Chitnis rushed in, knocked over the jail surgeon with a blow in the face, rolled away the stone and saved his friend. Parashuram was so grateful for Khando Ballal's intercession that at the next *shradha* festival, the day when Hindus honour their dead ancestors, he gave a great banquet. To it, although he was a Deshastha Brahman he invited Khando Ballal Chitnis, a Prabhu. To the king he showed his gratitude in a more practical manner. Knowing that Balaji was about to attack Krishnarao of Khatao, he begged and obtained leave to send with Balaji his son Shripatrao. As the youth was leaving, Parashuram sent for him and bade him either die in battle or so bear himself as to win for his father the royal favour. The young man eagerly complied and in course of a hard-fought battle his valour and example won the day. The rebel army was destroyed; and Krishnarao and his eldest son fell dead on the battle-field. His two younger sons fled and implored the royal pardon. Magnanimous as ever, Shahu not only gave it, but confirmed them in possession of the town of Khatao (1713). As a reward for Shripatrao's gallantry the king again offered Parashuram the office of Pratinidhi (April

* Hindus do not strip entirely when bathing.

1713). This time Parashuram accepted it. In his judgment, the appointment of his son Krishnarao to the post of Pratinidhi of Kolhapur, Parashuram's own office, released him from his allegiance to Sambhaji. He was no longer a Kolhapur officer and was free to take service with Shahu. The king never again entrusted Parashuram with an army but he greatly esteemed him and often acted on his advice; and he showed his appreciation of the gallant old man by frequent gifts of land and money.

In the cold weather of the same year (1713) Shahu resolved to reduce Kanhoji Angre. Kanhoji Angre was the son of Tukoji Angre, who had during Shivaji's reign become famous as a sailor. The real name of the Angre family was Sangpal, but as their native village was Angarwadi they had come to call themselves Angre. Tukoji died in 1690 leaving a son Kanhoji Angre, who was destined to advance still further the family fortunes. He had long been reputed a skilful seaman and in Sambhaji's reign he had been promoted to high command in the royal fleet. At that time the chief Maratha strongholds on the coast were Sagargad under Mankoji Suryavanshi, Khanderi under Udaji Padval, Rajkot under Subhanji Kharate and Kolaba under Bhivaji Gujar. On the capture of King Sambhaji, Mankoji Suryavanshi, Udaji Padval and Subhanji Kharate deserted their charges and fled to the fort of Prabhalgad. Bhiwaji Gujar and Kanhoji Angre divided between themselves the coast fortresses. In 1697, the two Maratha leaders quarrelled and Bhiwaji Gujar, imprisoned by Kanhoji Angre, soon died, leaving Angre supreme in the Maratha Konkan. Angre received from Tarabai the title of Sarkhel or admiral of the Maratha fleet and availed himself of her quarrel with Shahu to make himself independent. Feigning to act under Tarabai's orders, he had seized the town of Kalyan and the surrounding districts as well as the great fort of Rajmachi below the Bhor Ghat and that of Lohgad just above it. To subdue this powerful noble Shahu despatched a large force

under his Peshwa Bahiro Pingle. Unhappily Pingle was a man of mediocre talents. Kanhoji Angre was one of the first soldiers of his time. He defeated Bahiro Pingle in a pitched battle and took him prisoner and throwing him into a dungeon in Lohgad, openly talked of an advance on Satara. Shahu in alarm ordered Balaji Vishvanath with fresh troops to oppose his march. But Balaji wisely trusted to diplomacy rather than arms. He formed the view that the royal government was no longer strong enough to adhere to Shivaji's old constitution, under which the king aided by his eight ministers was the sole ruler in his dominions. The time had come when that ideal must be put aside as an impossible counsel of excellence. Let the king give his nobles grants of land instead of money and allow them within their confines to act as vassal princes rather than salaried officers. Shahu accepted his minister's advice and consented to the change. Balaji invested with full powers, met the Maratha admiral at Lonavla. The two had kindly feelings for each other from the days when Balaji Vishvanath lived in the Konkan. Balaji spoke eloquently of the danger which the Maratha people ran under rulers divided against each other. His eloquence touched the war-worn sailor's heart and Angre agreed to accept Shahu's terms. He was confirmed in the title of Sarkhel or Admiral of the royal fleet and was allowed to retain Rajmachi and a number of lesser forts in the Konkan*. At the same time Balaji joined his forces with Angre's and the combined armies invaded the Sidis' possessions on the western coast. The Sidis were rapidly driven out of Shrivardhan, Balaji's birthplace, and several other points on the coast which Angre added to his fief. Thereafter Angre released Bahiro Pingle and became an allied confederate of the king. In this way the Maratha confederacy was born.

* The forts mentioned by Mr. Sardesai were Khanderi, Kolaba, Suvarnadurg, Jaygad, Devgad, Kanakdurg, Fatchdurg, Avachitgud, and Yeswantgad besides 16 lesser places, *e. g.* Bahirugad, Kolata, Bikatgad, Manikgad, Mirgad, Sagargad, Rasulgad, Ramdurg, Khaerpatan, Rajapur, Amberi, Satvadem, Shrivacha, and Manaranjan.

Shahu delighted with Balaji's success, removed Bahiro Pingle from the post of Peshwa wherein he had so signally failed and on the 16th November 1713 conferred it on Balaji Vishvanath*. At the same time he directed Balaji to unite the forces of the kingdom against Damaji Thorat. After the failure of Balaji's expedition, Shahu had called on the Pant Sachiv to reduce the graceless filibuster. Naro Shankar the Pant Sachiv was still a tiny child, but his mutalik or agent took him on field service to encourage the troops. Unfortunately Damaji Thorat proved as formidable in battle as in low intrigue. He overthrew the Pant Sachiv's troops and took the little boy and his mutalik prisoners. These also the king ransomed. Before Balaji started on the third expedition, Shahu, anxious to give Damaji Thorat a last chance of returning to his allegiance, invited him to meet him at Jejuri and promised him a safe conduct. There he graciously received the rebel chieftain and offered him the most favourable terms. Confident in the strength of the castle and in his numerous and well-trained bands, Thorat bore himself with such overweening pride as to make reconciliation impossible. The king dismissed him and the royal commanders converged on Damaji Thorat's castle. Damaji met the king's troops in the open but for all his skill he was beaten and driven into Hingangaon. He defended himself bravely behind his castle walls, but they were breached and the place stormed. Damaji Thorat was taken prisoner and sent to a dungeon in Purandar. His fortress was utterly destroyed and the spot where it had stood was ploughed up by donkeys. The king was more pleased than ever with Balaji. To reward him and at the same time to show his displeasure at the Pant Sachiv's failure, Shahu took from the latter the fort of Purandar and the town of Sasvad and conferred them on Balaji Vishvanath. Balaji in turn

* Grant Duff's statement that the Pant Sachiv's mother Yesubai gave Purandar to Balaji as a sign of her gratitude is incorrect. The governorships of the fort, were still in the gift of the king. Riyasat II., p. 56.

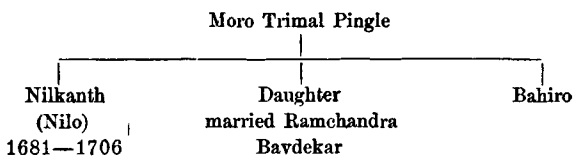
made Ambaji Purandare his mutalik or principal agent and Ramji Mahadev Bhanu his confidential clerk.

Order had now been restored by the talents and skill of Shahu's minister. To celebrate his victories the king invited Kanhoji Angre to visit him. Angre obeyed the summons and met his master at Jejuri in the spring of 1718. The temple of Jejuri has several times been mentioned in these pages. It was there that Shivaji greeted Shahaji when the father brought to the son the peace offers of Bijapur. Jejuri was then a tiny place but in the early years of Shahu's reign, it had been greatly improved and enlarged by Krishnarao of Khatao, who although a freelance, was in religious matters strictly orthodox and was highly esteemed by his countrymen as the author of a Sanskrit work on the 1000 names of the god Vishnu. The present noble structure, one of the wonders of the Deccan, was built long afterwards by Ahalyabai and Tukoji Holkar. The deity worshipped in the Jejuri temple is the god Khandoba, an incarnation from the god Shiva. A legend relates that in ancient times some Brahmans were attacked and their property carried off by a demon called Malla. The Brahmans prayed to Shiva and he took the form of a warrior named Khandoba and slew the demon. Before he died Malla became a convert to Shaivism, whereupon both he and Khandoba were absorbed into Shiva.

Kanhoji Angre presented to the king a 'Nazar' or tribute of sea-borne merchandise and received in exchange a richly embroidered shawl. He stayed over the *Holi* festival and in the time-honoured manner Shahu and his nobles covered themselves with red liquid. From Jejuri the king and his court moved to Satara. There Shahu and Angre removed in prolonged conversations all possible causes of misunderstanding. After a further exchange of presents Angre took an affectionate farewell of his sovereign and returned to his strongholds on the western coast.

APPENDIX A

The genealogical tree of the Pingles.



CHAPTER XXXVII

AFFAIRS AT DELHI

A. D. 1707 TO 1719

AFTER the death of Aurangzib Maratha history becomes once again connected more or less closely with that of Delhi. As I have related, Shah Alam under the title of Bahadur Shah became after the defeat and death of his brothers, emperor of Hindustan. Shah Alam was the kindest and most humane of men, but he lacked the vigour that was needed to make secure the tottering throne of the Moghuls. He succeeded his father at the age of sixty-seven and for nearly fifty years he had never known a moment free from the fear of death or imprisonment. He ruled for less than five years, most of which he passed in fighting the Sikhs, who had now become a formidable power. In February 1712 he suddenly issued a peremptory order to destroy every dog both in his own camp and in Lahore city. An order so needlessly cruel in the mouth of so kindly a prince raised fears that his mind had failed. The fears were justified and on the 16th February 1712 he fell into a swoon from which he never recovered. The emperor's second son Azimushan was his father's favourite and at once seized the royal treasure and proclaimed himself emperor. But Zulfikar Khan lent his powerful support to Bahadur Shah's other three sons. Azimushan was defeated and fell on the battle-field. Before his defeat, his three brothers had agreed to divide the empire. But with the death of their rival, their amity vanished. Moizuddin, the eldest, fought in turn his two brothers and with Zulfikar Khan's help emerged from the struggle the sole

survivor. He mounted the throne under the title of Jehandar Shah on the 9th June 1712.

The new emperor was not without abilities but he was wholly under the sway of a pretty dancing girl Lal Koor. After the manner of her kind, she sought to retain her dominion over her lover by keeping him under the influence of drugs and liquor. Nor was Zulfikar Khan averse from Jehandar Shah's self-indulgence. He relieved his master of all affairs of state and became in fact, if not in name, emperor of Delhi. Lal Koor used her influence to exalt her brother Khosal and her former friends. Khosal was made a commander of seven thousand men. A woman called Zahra, who had been kind to Lal Koor when a child, became so rich that she assumed the state of the greatest nobles in court. One day Zahra was passing with her retinue down the street when she met Mir Kamaruddin, better known as Chin Kulich Khan, a title given him by Aurangzib. He was the son of Firóz Jang* and the grandson of that Kulich Khan who in 1687 had fallen before Golconda. After Aurangzib's death Chin Kulich Khan had retired from court, content with the wealth which his father had amassed. Seeing Zahra approach on her elephant he made his retinue move aside to let her pass. With the insolence of an upstart, Zahra rebuked Chin Kulich Khan for not making way for her sooner. "Chin Kulich Khan," she cried, "you must surely be the son of a blind father not to move out of the road." The hot blood of Turkestan boiled in the soldier's veins at the insult. At his signal his retinue threw themselves upon the servants of Zahra, beat them severely and finally dragged Zahra herself out of her gaily decked howdah. Realising his danger Chin Kulich Khan went straight to Zulfikar Khan, implored and obtained his protection. Thereafter he returned to court and asked to be reinstated in the imperial service. Such was the unpromising beginning of the career of the great Nizam-ul-Mulk, the

*Khafi Khan. Firoz Jang died in Guzarat in 1709.

ancestor of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Haidarabad.

In no long time the folly of Jehandar Shah, the whims of his mistress, and the overbearing manners of Zulfikar Khan estranged the Moghul nobles and they readily sought a pretender to the throne. Over the great and wealthy province of Bengal ruled Farukhsir, a son of Azimushan. On Aurangzib's death Azimushan, marching to his father's help, left behind him Farukhsir as his deputy. On the borders of Bengal were two brothers, who, as Sayads, claimed to be descended from the loins of the prophet. Hussein Ali Khan was governor of Behar. His brother Abdulla Khan was governor of Allahabad. These two powerful nobles Farukhsir won to his cause and in November 1712 the combined armies of the three provinces marched to Delhi. In spite of the gallantry of Zulfikar Khan, Jehandar Shah suffered a complete defeat and was betrayed to Farukhsir by Zulfikar Khan's father, Asad Khan. The latter's infamy saved his own life but not his son's. Asad Khan and Zulfikar Khan paid their respects to Farukhsir, but as they rose to go, Zulfikar Khan was detained. He had been the chief cause of Azimushan's failure to win the throne and in the eyes of Farukhsir he had sinned beyond forgiveness. He was led into a side tent and charged with the desertion of Azim Shah and with treason to Azimushan. Zulfikar Khan met the charges with undaunted bearing, but at last seeing that his cause had already been judged, he bade his tormentors kill him instead of asking him idle questions. The words had hardly left his lips when a band of ruffians threw themselves on him and strangled him to death. So died this talented soldier, the one officer in Aurangzib's army, who knew perfectly the science of Deccan warfare*.

Farukhsir was soon to regret the murder of one who might have proved an ally against the two Sayad brothers. They assumed complete control of the state and reduced the emperor's power to a cypher. Jehandar Shah had

*Siyar ul Muta Kherin, p. 122.

willingly resigned to Zulfikar Khan the toils of office, but Farukhsir resented the tyranny of his two allies. Not daring to dismiss them, he fawned on them to their faces, but behind their backs wove scheme after scheme for their destruction. On Farukhsir's elevation, he appointed Chin Kulich Khan to succeed Zulfikar Khan as viceroy of the Deccan, and Chin Kulich Khan induced Shahu in return for imperial recognition to agree to support Farukhsir with ten thousand horse. The emperor now recalled Chin Kulich Khan and sent the Sayad Hussein Ali Khan to take his place. Directly Hussein Ali Khan had left Delhi, the emperor begged Daud Khan to attack and destroy him. Daud Khan, who had been Zulfikar Khan's former deputy and had since been named governor of Guzarat, accepted readily the task. He enlisted a number of Maratha troops, especially those under Nemaji Sindia, who had made himself master of the entire revenues of Aurangabad. On the 25th August, 1715, the two armies met on the plain outside Burhanpur. Daud Khan was renowned through India for his courage. His gallantry had won the battle when a stray musket ball struck him in the forehead, killing him on the spot. Fortune at once changed sides and Daud Khan's victorious army became a routed mob. Nemaji Sindia, of whom Daud Khan had expected great things, took no part in the action, but galloping about with his cavalry on the outskirts of the battle, only joined in it, when he saw Daud Khan's force finally dispersed. He then rode up to Hussein Ali Khan, congratulated him on his victory and applied himself to plundering Daud Khan's effects.

Hussein Ali Khan secure in the viceroyalty of the Deccan tried to clear his province of Maratha marauders. The chief among these was Khanderao Dabhade. He had actually built a number of mud block-houses along the Surat-Burhanpur road,* and kept a revenue officer there to levy the *chauth* which the Marathas now claimed not only over the Deccan, but over Guzarat as well. Hussein

* Siyar-ul-Muta Kherin p. 140.

Ali Khan sent eight thousand men under one Zulfikar Beg to drive away Khanderao Dabhade and destroy his block-houses. But the general had neither the skill nor the men to achieve his purpose. Khanderao Dabhade who had between eight thousand and nine thousand veteran troopers and six or seven thousand local levies met Zulfikar Beg near the edge of the Baglan forest. Zulfikar Beg instantly attacked him. The Marathas dispersed on all sides into the wooded hills. Zulfikar Beg divided his army into small parties so as to pursue them. When the Moghuls had penetrated deeply into the mountains, detachments of Marathas closed the paths behind them; Zulfikar Beg was slain and his entire force either killed or taken. Hussein Ali Khan attempted to avenge Zulfikar Beg by sending a large army under his minister Raja Mohkam Sing to Guzarat. At the same time he sent another force under his own brother Sarfuddin Ali Khan to support him.

Khanderao Dabhade was too wary a soldier to fight at a disadvantage. He clung to south Guzarat by means of his chain of forts which the Moghuls failed to take and successfully declined a general engagement. Hussein Ali Khan's ill success against Dabhade was learnt by the emperor with great satisfaction. Farukhsir wrote privately to various Maratha leaders, urging them to make war without respite on his own viceroy. The Maratha leaders were only too willing to comply with the emperor's request and broke the truce that they had more or less observed since Shahu's accession. Everywhere in the Moghul possessions in the south appeared bands of horsemen, who with justice announced that they were acting for the emperor. Hussein Ali Khan had no alternative but to buy off the Marathas on their own terms.

He sent as his ambassador to Shahu's court at Satara a Deshasth Brahman named Shankar Malhar. He had been a clerk under Shivaji and had been appointed Pant Sachiv by Raja Ram; but he had been removed from that office by Tarabai. He had then joined the Moghul service

and had acted at the viceregal court as the agent of the Maratha captains in the pay of the emperor. Balaji Vishvanath conducted the negotiations on Shahu's behalf. On his release Shahu had obtained a promise of the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* in the six Deccan provinces. Subsequently by a private arrangement between Shahu and Daud Khan, the Maratha king had waived his right to the *sardeshmukhi,* provided Daud Khan guaranteed the regular payment of the *chauth.* The first demand, therefore, of the Maratha plenipotentiary was that the viceroy should guarantee the *sardeshmukhi* as well as the *chauth.* This was at once acceded to by Shankar Malhar. But this was only a small part of the Maratha demands. Balaji Vishvanath next asked for sovereign rights over all the territory except Khandesh which had belonged to Shivaji. In lieu of Khandesh Shahu should receive compensation round Pandharpur. The Moghuls should evacuate Shivner which had twice defied the great king's assaults, restore Shivaji's Carnatic conquests and send Shahu's mother and family back to the Deccan. With special vehemence Balaji, a devout and orthodox Brahman, demanded the surrender of Trimbak. It is a place dear to every Deccan Hindu and is yearly visited by thousands of pilgrims. It was there that the saint Nivratti, brother of Dnyandev, ended his earthly career. But, above all, it is renowned as the spot where the Godavari river rises. To the Marathas the Godavari is the holiest of all southern streams and by the dwellers on her banks she is usually called Ganga or the Ganges. Indeed a current legend claims for her a holiness even greater than that of her proud northern sister. When King Bhagirath by his prayers and penances brought down from heaven the divine Ganges, the god Shiva caught her in his hair. There he held her imprisoned for a year. Parvati, Shiva's wife, grew jealous of the stately lady, whom her husband carried always with him. She called to her aid her son, the elephant-headed Ganpati. Now it so happened that near Trimbak a great sage called

Gautama had his hermitage and close to it he grew a small patch of corn to gratify his scanty needs. Ganpati turned himself into a cow and began to eat the hermit's corn. The angered Gautama rushed out and struck the trespasser a violent blow with his staff. Instantly the cow fell down dead. The next year the rains failed and for miles round the peasants ascribed their failure to Gautama's slaughter of the cow. They insisted that by way of reparation he should procure other water and save them from a famine. Gautama, conscious of his guilt, began a series of penances to induce the god Shiva to release from his hair at least a part of the Ganges, to water the arid plains. Shiva at last consented and let fall from his hair the fairest portion of the imprisoned river. It fell at Trimbak and became the Godavari river. The peasant's crops were saved and the Ganges, bereft of her fairest waters, no longer roused the jealousy of the great god's queen.

In return for these vast cessions, Balaji Vishvanath offered on the king's behalf to pay a tribute of ten lakh for the *chauth* and keep fifteen thousand horse at the disposal of the viceroy of the Deccan. For the *sardeshmukhi* he was to protect the Deccan, to put down disorder and pay a fee of 651%. No loyal Moghul officer would have agreed to a treaty which involved the surrender of Shivaji's Carnatic conquests; but Hussein Ali Khan was ready to accept any terms, by which he might secure fifteen thousand Maratha horse to use against his master the emperor. He therefore agreed to all Balaji's demands subject to confirmation by Farukhsir. But the clause, which was most attractive to Hussein Ali Khan, was utterly repellent to the emperor and his advisers. The treaty was rejected with indignation. Farukhsir sent Jannisar Khan to occupy Khandesh in his name and gave him a body of troops to guard himself from Santaji Kadam Bande, who was overrunning that province. But Jannisar Khan, as soon as the troops reached him, deserted to

Hussein Ali Khan. Both Farukhsir and his former allies now prepared for war; but while the Sayad brothers collected men and guns with vigour and resolution, the wretched emperor could not decide on any settled plan. At last a Kashmiri called Mahomed Murad won the imperial favour by suggesting to him a variety of futile designs by which he might destroy the Sayads. In return for this worthless counsel Farukhsir ennobled Mahomed Murad with the title of Itikad Khan Farukhshahi Rukn-ud-daulat, which, being interpreted, means the confidential noble of the court of the emperor Farukhsir and pillar of the state. At Itikad Khan's advice the emperor recalled Sarbuland Khan, the governor of Patna, Chin Kulich Khan, now ennobled with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk or deputy of the empire and governor of Moradabad, and Ajit Sing, the son of Jaswant Sing, Maharaja of Jodhpur, whom as a child Aurangzib had wished to detain in Delhi and convert to Islam. After Ajit Sing's successful flight, the Maharana of Udaipur, the first of the Rajput princes, had bestowed on him the hand of his daughter; and Bahadur Shah had publicly acknowledged him as Chief of Jodhpur. He was now governor of Guzarat. Ajit Sing, however, correctly gauged the emperor's vacillating and treacherous nature and not only refused to help in the destruction of the Sayads, but disclosed to Sayad Abdulla Khan, who was still at Delhi, Farukhsir's intentions. Nizam-ul-Mulk and Sarbuland Khan had relinquished their high offices when recalled to Delhi, but had been assured that they would be promoted, the one to be vazir, the other to be commander-in-chief. On these terms they were ready to attack the Sayads. But when they asked of the emperor the fulfilment of his promises, they learnt that he intended to make Itikad Khan both vazir and commander-in-chief. They vainly protested that since they had ceased to be governors, they could not help Farukhsir, unless he gave them high posts at Delhi; but they received the reply that Itikad Khan alone had the necessary talents to be head either of the civil or

the military administration. Seeing that the emperor was bent on his own destruction, Nizam-ul-Mulk and Sarbuland Khan wisely made their peace with the Sayads. The days of Farukhsir's reign were now numbered. Of all his friends Jai Sing, the raja of Jaipur, alone stood by his side and offered with his Rajput troops to attack and destroy Abdulla Khan before Hussein Ali Khan could join him. But fear now dominated the wretched successor of Aurangzib. Without an effort to resist, he allowed Hussein Ali Khan with the troops of the Deccan and a contingent of ten thousand Maratha horse under Palaji Vishvanath to march on Delhi and join Abdulla Khan. The emperor was lost. He tried in vain to conciliate the brothers, but they had gone too far for pardon. They replaced his guards by their own soldiers and insolently repeated to Farukhsir's face the various orders which he had given to compass their destruction. The emperor lost his temper and broke into passionate reproaches. The Sayads at once seized his person. A few nobles, touched by their master's fall, tried to rescue him, but in vain. The attempt ended in a street riot, during which the mob fell on the Maratha contingent and killed fifteen hundred of them, including Santaji Bhosle, a son of Parsoji Bhosle, and Balaji Mahadev, one of the three Bhanu brothers*. When the Sayads had restored order, they had their unhappy master blinded and thrown into a gloomy dungeon where he soon afterwards died (February 1719). Nizam-ul-Mulk and Sarbuland Khan were rewarded for their inaction, the former by the governorship of Malwa, the latter by the governorship of Kabul.

* Chitnis Bakhar. Siyar-ul-Muta Kherin. Khafi Khan.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

NIZAM-UL-MULK FOUNDS THE KINGDOM OF HAIDARABAD.

A. D. 1719 TO 1724

THE body of the deceased emperor was buried in the tomb of Humayun, the spot where lie the remains of the murdered Dara Shukoh and where many years later the heirs of the last Moghul emperor sought in vain a sanctuary. In his place the Sayad brothers seated on the throne one Rafiud Dayat, the son of one of prince Akbar Mahomed's daughters and therefore the great-grandson of Aurangzib. The emperor was only twenty years of age, but he was already stricken with a mortal sickness. He was suffering from consumption, and three months after his coronation, he followed Farukhsir to the grave. At the dying boy's request, his brother Rafiud Daulat was crowned in his stead; but a victim to the same pitiless malady, he also exchanged in three months' time the throne for a grave. During the reign of these two princes the Sayads were masters of the empire. Abdulla Khan selected for his own zanana the favourite beauties of Farukhsir, and the Musulman chroniclers relate as a symptom* of the decay of the empire, that Maharaja Ajit Sing took back the daughter whom he had given in wedlock to the late emperor, and reconverting her to Hinduism, sent her back to his own palace at Jodhpur. The next prince whom the Sayads seated on the throne was Roshan Akhtar, the son of Jehandar Shah. In September 1719 he became under the title of Mahomed Shah, emperor of Delhi.

*Siyar-ul-Muta Kherin.

During the reigns of the two puppet predecessors of Mahomed Shah, Balaji Vishvanath and his Maratha contingent remained at Delhi. Balaji demanded imperiously the confirmation of Hussein Ali Khan's draft treaty. The latter, however, no longer in need of Maratha help postponed its execution and did not obtain the imperial signature until after Mahomed Shah's coronation. In some particulars the signed treaty differed from the original draft, but in essentials it remained the same. Shahu's mother Yesubai and his family were restored to him. He received the grant both of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* over the six Deccan provinces. In addition he was granted the *babti* or 25 per cent of the balance of their revenue, the *sahotra* or six per cent of the whole of the revenue and the *Nargi anda* or three per cent of the whole. He received most of the territory which he had demanded, but not Trimbak, nor the conquests south of the Wardha and Tungabhadra rivers. On the other hand, he acquired the line of forts from Tathavda to Machendragad with their districts as far east as Pandharpur together with Akalkot and Indapur, Aurangzib's wedding gift*. The emperor defrayed in full the expenses of the Maratha contingent while under arms. Having satisfactorily concluded this treaty, alike advantageous to his king and disgraceful to the empire, Balaji Vishvanath returned to Shahu's court at Satara. There the gratified monarch gave him in fief the fort of Lohgad and the adjoining districts.

Mahomed Shah was as destitute of talents as his immediate forerunners, but his mother was a woman of ability and courage. She forced her son to pay every respect to the Sayad brothers who had raised him to the throne, while she herself sought for some counterpoise to their outrageous power. In Nizam-ul-Mulk she saw a capable and willing friend. He had never allied himself to the Sayads and as a rough soldier he heeded but little their claims to a descent from the prophet. Indeed but for Farukhsir's

*Grant Duff.

vacillation he would willingly have destroyed them. He now entered readily into a plan for their discomfiture. He first established himself firmly in his governorship of Malwa, and having reduced that province to obedience, he resolved to make himself master of the Deccan. He knew a good deal about Deccan warfare and had in 1713 and 1714, when viceroy for a short time, protected it with success against Maratha encroachments. His daring mind conceived the plan of using the resources of that province, which others regarded as nearly lost to the empire, to oust the Sayads' dominion. He assembled twelve thousand veteran horse at Sironj and then without warning crossed the Narbada and marched southwards. The Sayads, who had expected him to march on Delhi, were dismayed by this unexpected move. The rebel's march was at first a triumphant progress. The giant fortress of Asirgad, which had for many years withstood the arms of Akbar, surrendered on payment of two years' arrears of pay. Burhanpur capitulated on the same terms. Anwar Khan, the governor of Khandesh, at once handed over his charge. Rao Rambha Nimbalkar, Chandrasen Jadhav and other Maratha leaders, discontented with Shahu, and a contingent from Kolhapur presented themselves at Nizam-ul-Mulk's camp. Lastly, Ghaus Khan, the governor of Berar and a Turk like the Nizam himself, brought to his fellow countryman a body of veteran troops and a train of artillery. The Nizam's head was not turned by these easy successes. He knew that he would soon have to face Alam Ali Khan, a nephew of the Sayads and for the moment viceroy of the Deccan. To Alam Ali Khan's help, too, were marching Dilavar Khan, a Sayad like the two brothers, and a Maratha contingent under Khanderao Dabhade. The Nizam, however, had the advantage of interior lines and he resolved to destroy his enemies before they could unite. His tactics were those which he had learnt in Deccan warfare*. On the approach of Dilavar Khan, the

* Khafi Khan and Siyar-ul-Muta Kherin.

Nizam left on the wooded banks of a stream his lieutenant Inayat Khan, with a picked body of infantry and a large train of artillery. With the bulk of his force he went out to meet Dilavar Khan. The latter, thinking that he had before him the entire army of his enemy, charged impetuously. The Nizam skilfully retreated until he had led Dilavar Khan close to his concealed reserves. While the Sayad was pursuing his foe in the disorder of fancied victory, there burst on him and his men a storm of cannon shot. Dilavar Khan's soldiers fell in heaps and the rest, taking advantage of the smoke, fled in dismay from the battle. (19th June 1720.)*

In the meantime Alam Ali Khan had reached Aurangabad. He had affected a junction with the Maratha contingent under Khanderao Dabhade and with twelve thousand Marathas and his own army of thirteen thousand men he thought himself a match for Nizam-ul-Mulk. The latter feared most the Maratha contingent. Against them he resolved to rely on massed batteries of heavy artillery, a device used afterwards with still greater effect by the French general, de Bussy. He stripped Asirgad and Burhanpur of their cannon and then sought his enemy. Khanderao Dabhade and his Marathas behaved in a way worthy of his high reputation. But Ghaus Khan kept them at a distance with the fire of his batteries and charged them in the field with the squadrons under Chandrasen Jadhav. The main action took place at a spot called Balapur in Berar almost half-way between Burhanpur and Aurangabad. The Nizam's tactics were similar to those of his recent victory but more artfully concealed. In the evening before the battle he ostentatiously massed his entire artillery in front of his lines. At night he withdrew the bulk of his guns and hid them in a copse a mile or two in the rear. Next morning the 10th August 1720, Alam Ali Khan attacked with the same fury as Dilavar Khan had done

*This battle is known as the battle of Khandwa. The battle against Alam Ali Khan was called the battle of Balapur.

and fell into the same snare. Nizam-ul-Mulk slowly retreated, followed by Alam Ali Khan. When the deluded commander had reached the desired spot, the concealed batteries in a few minutes swept away his troops by thousands. Profiting by their disorder Nizam-ul-Mulk counter-attacked. The Maratha contingent fought bravely until Alam Khan's death, when Khanderao Dabhade, seeing that the day was lost, withdrew his detachment safely to the Deccan. Among the fallen was Shankar Mulhar, Hussein Ali Khan's envoy to the court of King Shahu.

The rebel's victories were heard with dismay by the Sayad brothers, but with secret joy by the emperor and his mother, and they deemed the time propitious for ridding themselves of their overbearing benefactors. To this end they won over another Turk named Mahomed Amir Khan, who had deserted Farukhsir to the Sayads and now that the Sayads' cause seemed to totter, was ready to desert back from the Sayads to the emperor. The suspicious brothers forbade any private interviews, but Amir Khan and Mahomed Shah conveyed to each other their plans by speaking openly in Turki, a language unknown to the Sayads, but always diligently studied by the house of Babar. As Hussein Ali Khan was the abler of the brothers, it was decided to remove him by assassination, and in one Mir Haidar, a Chagatai Moghul, was found a suitable instrument. The assassin pretended to offer Hussein Ali Khan a petition written in extremely obscure language. Hussein Ali Khan accepted it and while he tried to unravel the tangled rigmarole, Mir Haidar plunged a dagger into his heart. On the death of their leader the bulk of his troops deserted and the rest were overpowered by the nobles attached to the imperial cause. Abdulla Khan still remained to be dealt with. He was at Fatehpur Sikri, the beautiful city which Akbar built near Agra and afterwards abandoned. On hearing of his brother's murder he at once marched on Delhi. To give his advance a show of right, he had crowned another grandson of

Bahadur Shah under the title of Mahomed Ibrahim Shah. But the nobles of Delhi were weary of the overweening insolence of the Sayads and gathered round the reigning emperor. Nevertheless Abdulla Khan was able to collect a considerable force; and at Shahpur on the road from Agra to Delhi he fought for two days a hardly contested action. On the second day he rashly dismounted from his elephant to encourage his men; but receiving several wounds he was taken prisoner and his army dispersed (November 1720)*.

Mahomed Shah returned to Delhi in triumph. He at first appointed Mahomed Amin Khan as his vazir. But on his death a few hours later, he gave that important post to Nizam-ul-Mulk. Thus in a few months the rebel had not only conquered the Deccan, but had raised himself to the first office in the empire. In addition he was allowed to retain the governorship of Malwa and the viceroyalty of the Deccan. Although Mahomed Shah put up a bell in his apartments, the chain of which any aggrieved subject might pull, he was really as idle and dissolute as any of his predecessors. When the new vazir reached Delhi in January 1722, he found the imperial affairs in utter confusion. He at once applied to their study his keen and powerful mind. But serious and decorous himself, he could neither understand nor sympathise with the emperor's youthful levity. He constantly rebuked his sovereign in grave and, worse still, lengthy speeches. At last Mahomed Shah, tired to death of his solemn vazir, encouraged his courtiers and boon companions to mimic the Turk's manners and pull faces at him behind his back. When ridicule failed, Mahomed Shah thought to destroy his vazir by appointing him governor of Guzarat. The previous governor was one Haidar Kuli Khan, to whom the emperor sent a despatch, urging him to resist and, if possible, to kill the new nominee. Haidar Kuli Khan readily obeyed. But the Nizam was more than a match for his treacherous

*Siyar-ul-Muta Kherin.

master. Marching into Guzarat he contrived so skilfully to sow sedition in Haidar Kuli Khan's army, that at a given moment it deserted in a mass to the enemy. The wretched governor left with only a few personal friends, saved his life by pretending to be mad and fled to Delhi. He was followed there by Nizam-ul-Mulk, who once more undertook his duties as vazir, with the added prestige of his recent victory and a third viceroyalty. His return was so distasteful to the foolish boy who occupied the throne, that Nizam-ul-Mulk began to fear that if he stayed long at Delhi he would, like Hussein Ali Khan, be removed by the knife of an assassin. He begged leave to resign his office as vazir and go to his governorships of Malwa, Guzarat and the Deccan, where, as he pleaded, the fresh inroads of the Marathas demanded his immediate return. With a sigh of relief, Mahomed Shah graciously granted his request and lavished honours on the departing minister. Nizam-ul-Mulk was given the title of Asaf Jah and Vakil-i-Mulk, or agent-general of the empire, and permitted to leave court with every wish for his future success.

The Nizam went first to Malwa and thence after a short interval to the Deccan. But his master's enmity preceded him. An imperial messenger had already reached Mubariz Khan, the commandant of Haidarabad fort, begging him to destroy the viceroy and assume the viceroyalty himself. Tempted by the offer, Mubariz Khan won over a number of the leading Musulman officers and raised an army big enough to encourage him to attack the emperor's enemy. On the 2nd October, 1724, the rivals met at Shakar Khera in Berar, eighty miles from Aurangabad*. Mubariz Khan tried to outmarch the Nizam and turning his flank to seize Aurangabad. But he was opposed to a master of the art of war. Nizam-ul-Mulk marched even more rapidly than he did and forced him to action. In spite of the personal bravery of Mubariz Khan, he was killed and his army overthrown. Nizam-ul-Mulk knew as well as anyone the

* Khafi Khan. (The place is now known as Sakhar Khed.)

BAJIRAO I.

[*To face page* 174]

emperor's perfidy; but he thought fit to ignore it. With grim irony he congratulated Mahomed Shah on the reduction of a rebel and sent his head and his personal effects to increase the imperial gratification. Henceforward, although Nizam-ul-Mulk feigned a subject's deference to the emperor, and styled himself his lieutenant, he ruled in reality as king of the Deccan.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE DEATH OF BALAJI VISHVANATH AND THE ACCESSION OF HIS SON BAJIRAO

A. D. 1720 TO 1730

BEFORE leaving Delhi, Nizam-ul-Mulk had appointed his uncle Hamid Khan as his lieutenant in Guzarat. Mahomed Shah was advised to release from prison Abdulla Khan and send him to reconquer that province first and the Deccan afterwards. This plan was frustrated by Nizam-ul-Mulk's friends, who successfully administered to the fallen vazir a dose of poison. The emperor then chose Sarbuland Khan, the governor of Kabul, as his instrument. The latter, however, who aspired to be vazir, did not at once proceed to Guzarat but sent there one Shujaat Khan with a body of picked troops. Hamid Khan's own force was not equal to resistance, so he fell back on Dohad, where he induced a Maratha leader Kantaji Kadam Bande to join him, promising him in return the *chauth* of Guzarat. The allies advanced against Shujaat Khan and defeating and killing him at Kapadwanj, entered Ahmadabad in triumph. It so happened however, that Rustam Ali Khan, the Moghul governor of Surat, was Shujaat Khan's brother. He took up arms to avenge him and following his enemy's example induced another Maratha leader named Pilaji Gaikvad, with whom he had for some time past been conducting a more or less successful guerilla warfare, to patch up a truce and join him against Hamid Khan and Kantaji Bande. This Pilaji Gaikvad was the founder of the great house of Baroda; and since English historians, as a rule, interpret wrongly the name Gaikvad to mean cowherd, it will not be out of place to narrate here the

origin of the family. The word Gaikvad is made up of two Marathi words—"Gai" a cow, and "Kavad" a small door. "Gaikvad" therefore means a "cow's door." The family came to adopt the name in this way. Nandaji*, the great-grandfather of Pilaji Gaikvad, was in charge of Bher fort in that part of the Mawal tract which, watered by the Pavana river in the Bhor state, is known as the Pavana Maval. One day a Musulman butcher drove past the fort gates a herd of cows, intending at the close of his journey to convert them into beef. Nandaji, like a virtuous Hindu, rushed out and rescued the cows, which ran for shelter into the fort through a side door or 'Kavad'. Proud of this meritorious feat, Nandaji assumed the name of "Gai-kavad", or cow's door which has since been corrupted into Gaikvad. Nandaji had a son Keroji, and Keroji had four sons Damaji, Lingoji, Gujoji, and Harjirao. Damaji took service under Khanderao Dabhade and so distinguished himself in the battle of Balapur that his conduct was brought to the royal notice. Damaji had no son but he adopted Pilaji, the son of one of his brothers and obtained for him a small post in Khanderao Dabhade's household. Shortly after his appointment Pilaji, who was an efficient horse-master, was put in charge of some forty or fifty mares, which had become too thin to carry Khanderao Dabhade's troopers. He took the mares to Narayanpur in the Nawapur paragana of Guzarat, where they shortly recovered their condition. Dabhade then gave him two or three hundred other foundered horses, which also recovered health and strength; indeed Pilaji not only sent them back in excellent condition, but he also returned a part of the money given to him for their keep. As a reward Dabhade promoted Pilaji to the command of a squadron with which to garrison Nawapur. This pargana and the neighbouring districts were then in the hands of the Bandes and the Pawars, also subordinates of the commander-in-chief. They

*Pilaji Gaikvad Bakhar placed at my disposal by the courtesy of H. H. The Maharaja Gaikvad of Baroda.

affected to believe that Dabhade had made a mistake and refused to hand over to Pilaji his new grant. To compensate him, Dabhade gave him the command of two more squadrons and allowed him to establish himself at a fort near Surat, to which Pilaji gave the name of Songadh or the golden stronghold. He was now at the head of a considerable division and flattered by Rustam Ali's offer agreed to serve under his command. An indecisive action was fought by the two opposing Moghuls on the banks of the Mahi river. Rustam Ali remained master of the field. But Hamid Khan worsted in battle proved more formidable in intrigue. He induced his Maratha ally Bande to win over Pilaji. The next day Hamid Khan renewed the battle. Pilaji Gaikvad obtained leave to guard the guns and baggage while Rustam Ali charged the enemy. Away went the glittering masses of the imperial horse. Pilaji Gaikvad instantly spiked his commander's guns and charged into his rear. Attacked on all sides, Rustam Ali's force was destroyed and the too trusting generals fell on the battlefield*. In consideration of Pilaji's timely treachery, Hamid Khan divided the *chauth* of Guzarat between him and Kanthaji Bande. The two Marathas quarrelled over the division, but in the end they accepted Hamid Khan's ruling that the *chauth* of eastern Guzarat should go to Pilaji and that of western Guzarat to Kanthaji. The Mahi river was declared to be the boundary between them. After this settlement Hamid Khan returned in triumph to Ahmadabad and made his headquarters in the Shahi Bagh, now the residence of the British commissioner. His triumph, however, was short-lived. Sarbuland Khan, feeling that if he tarried longer at Delhi he might lose everything, determined to go to Guzarat himself and drive out the deputy of Nizam-ul-Mulk. He succeeded in forcing his way into Ahmadabad, but there he was besieged by thirty thousand Marathas and compelled to give them drafts for large amounts on the chief bankers of Guzarat.

*Khafi Khan and Siyar-ul-Muta Kherin.

The Maratha leaders armed with Sarbuland Khan's authority extorted vast sums of money from the rich men of the province, with the result that trade and capital alike deserted it. Still had Sarbuland Khan been properly supported by the emperor, it is possible that he might have restored the Moghul authority over Guzarat. He won an important success over the Marathas on the plains of Cambay, whereupon Hamid Ali Khan fled back to the Deccan (December 1725). But the victory did Sarbuland Khan more harm than a defeat. Till then he had every month received five lakhs from the imperial treasury. But the news of his success and Hamid Khan's flight aroused the jealousy of the emperor and of his new vazir, Khan Dauran. They at once stopped the monthly payment and left Sarbuland Khan to shift for himself. The result was as might have been expected. Unable through the hostility of the Marathas to carry on the government, he bought their friendship, as will be narrated later, by formally ceding to them in 1729 A. D. the *chauth* and the *sardeshmukhi* of Guzarat.

While the foregoing events were happening in the Deccan and Gujarat, three of the greatest Maratha leaders passed away, Parashuram Trimbak, Balaji Vishvanath and Khanderao Dabhade. Parashuram died on the 27th May 1718, leaving four sons Krishnarao, Shrinivas better known as Shripatrao, Sadashiv and Jagjivan. Shripatrao had been adopted into the family of Parashuram's brother Madhavrao and was, therefore, no longer Parashuram's heir. Nevertheless Shahu, who had for Shripatrao a warm affection, appointed him to his natural father's office. Krishnarao remained at Kolhapur. His descendant is the chief of Vishalgad, who is still styled the Pratinidhi by H. H. the Maharaja of Kolhapur. Besides his sons, Parashuram left two daughters. One married into the family of Dhugardare, the other into that of the Deshpandes of Kolevadi, where her descendants may still be met. A *Vrindavan* or raised stand for the sacred Tulsi plant was

erected in his father's honour by Shripatrao and may yet be seen at Mahuli on the banks of the holy Krishna. A not less enduring monument is the collection of Sanskrit and Marathi verse which the soldier and statesman wrote in Satara fort, to beguile the tedium of his imprisonment.

Balaji Vishvanath died shortly after his return southwards. The fatigues of the journey, the anxieties of his stay, his vast labours to obtain the confirmation of the treaty drafted by Hussein Ali Khan had exhausted even his enduring frame. Early in October 1720 he felt himself unable to carry on even the ordinary duties of his charge and obtained leave to retire to Saswad, the little town below Purandar. During the winter and summer his family lived in Purandar, but to avoid the damp cold of the monsoon months it was their habit to descend into the valley below. In his house at Saswad, surrounded by his family, the great Peshwa tried to regain his strength and on the 11th March 1720 he married his son Bajirao to the charming Kashibai, but the hand of death was already on him. On the 1st April 1720 after a few days' illness he died of heart failure. It is a great misfortune that more has not come down to us of this distinguished man. Much has survived to us of his son Bajirao's life and character. Yet although Balaji's exploits were less brilliant than those of his more famous son, it must be borne in mind that the latter began where the former ended. The success, which attended Bajirao was, in truth, the success of Balaji's prudent and far-seeing policy. It must be conceded that in the granting of lands instead of salaries to the king's officers, Balaji departed from the wise rule of Shivaji. But the fault was not the minister's but his master's. Balaji saw that Shahu had not the commanding talents and energy which had made possible the great king's concentrated dominion. Since the best was not obtainable, Balaji chose the second best and substituted for the autocracy of the king the Maratha confederacy. Such a confederacy had the seeds of weakness. Nevertheless, as Mr. Ranade has

observed, it made its power felt all over India and endured for more than a hundred years. Again it was to Balaji that the complicated Maratha system of collection was due. To it as much as to their victories in the field the Marathas owed the spread of their empire. Everywhere were scattered their agents, collectors and *Kamavisdars*, their *Gumastas* and *Sheristedars*, who by constant interference with the Moghul officials undermined their authority, hampered their finances, fomented their quarrels and furnished to the Satara government a never-failing excuse for hostilities. As a child Balaji had married Radhabai Barve, a lady of extraordinary accomplishments. In an age when few men were literate, this talented lady could both read and write. She ruled her household with a rod of iron. Yet in social matters she was large-minded and tolerant. At one time it came to light that a certain Brahman Sardar owned a slave girl of the Mhar caste. The stricter citizens would have excommunicated the offender. But Radhabai induced the king to impose instead of a sentence of excommunication a trifling penance. Balaji's eldest son was Visaji, better known as Bajirao, born in 1698. His second son was Antaji, better known as Chimnaji Appa, born in 1708. He left also two daughters. One of them Anubai married Vyankatrao, the founder of the house of Ichalkaranji. The other Bhiubai, became the bride of Abaji Joshi of Baramati, the brother of Balaji Naik a wealthy money-lender and known to fame as Bajirao's most harassing creditor.

The third great Maratha chief to die was Khanderao Dabhade. In every campaign, nay in almost every battle fought by the Marathas since the death of Shivaji, he had played his part. In his last great fight, that of Balapur, he was in no way responsible for defeat; and his courage in the field and his skilful retreat enhanced rather than lowered his reputation. But on his return to the Deccan, he felt himself no longer fit for service and asked for and obtained leave to retire. He had won wide possessions in

the rich plains of Guzarat; but like a true Maratha he preferred to them all the little Deccan village which had seen his birth. To Talegaon Dabhade, as it is still called, on the banks of the Indryani river, the war-worn soldier went. Two picturesque lakes surrounded by shady trees adjoin the village and provide it with a never failing supply of water. The neighbouring hills furnish it with a beautiful and ever-changing landscape. The summer is not more severe than that of southern France. The winter is as bracing as that of Algeciras or Sicily; and if the rainfall is unduly heavy, the temperature is never high and the air is always cool and pleasant. But neither climate nor scenery could restore the old warrior's exhausted frame. For some months previously he had suffered from gravel and he lived only long enough to see his own title of Sena Khas Khel transferred to his son Trimbakrao and to receive the assurance that Trimbakrao would also on his father's death succeed to the post of commander-in-chief. (May 1721.)*

It was at one time commonly believed that Bajirao's accession to his father's office was delayed until the same month as Trimbakrao's appointment to the commandership in-chief. For some time previous to Balaji Vishvanath's death there had begun to form what for convenience sake may be called the "Deccan Party"—a combination of Deshasth or Deccan Brahmans and Marathas against Balaji Vishvanath and his Chitpavan or Konkan fellow castemen. The most formidable leader of the Deccan Party was Shripatrao, the son of Parashuram Trimbak. To him was joined Fatesing Bhosle, the child whom Shahu had adopted after the capture of Parad village. On Balaji's death Shahu had announced to his council that he meant to appoint Bajirao in his father's place. Shripatrao artfully urged the king to be in no hurry. Let the king wait and judge for himself whether the young man's abilities were

* Grant Duff. Mr. Sardesai gives the date of Khanderao Dabhade's death as 1729.

equal to the exalted post. Bajirao, born in 1698, was now 22 years old*. He was no scholar, such as were his father and his own descendants; for his childhood and youth had been spent in camps and on the battlefield. But he had a wide knowledge of men and a spirit and courage equal to the most arduous tasks. He was a bold rider, a skilful archer, a practised swordsman. In Hingangaon he had shared his father's captivity and at Delhi his father's triumphs. On Balaji's return, he had sent Bajirao to command the Maratha field force in Khandesh. Shahu who was a shrewd judge of character overruled his favourite's objections†. On the 17th April at a spot called Masur near Karhad he invested Bajirao with the robes of first minister. At the same time he gave to Bajirao's younger brother Chimnaji Appa, then only 12 years old, the title of Pandit and the Saranjam or private estate which had once belonged to Damaji Thorat.

In no long time the new Peshwa outlined his future policy. He would leave the narrow limits of the Deccan and carry Maratha arms into the very heart of the Moghul empire. The first goal should be the conquest of Central India. This adventurous plan the Deccan party strongly opposed. In the council chamber Shripatrao the Pratinidhi urged with great force its rejection, as rash and imprudent. He drew a just picture of the disorganisation of the finances, of the disordered state of the Konkan, where the Sidis held many important towns. Instead of bringing on their country such another invasion as that of Aurangzib, led this time by a soldier as skilled as Nizam-ul-Mulk, let the Marathas consolidate their conquests. Their independence had been recognised. It was far better to avoid a rupture with Delhi or Aurangabad. At peace with their neighbours, let them convert their present possessions into a wealthy and powerful kingdom. That aim achieved, let them devote themselves to conquests nearer home.

*Riyasat vol. II., p. 143.

† *Ibid.* p. 163.

The Moghuls had overrun Shivaji's southern conquests. Let the Marathas retake Jinji and all its fertile districts and the provinces torn by the great king from Bijapur. This second ambition realised, it would be time enough to set in motion their armies against Delhi.

(Bajirao replied that the way to restore their finances was to plunder the rich provinces of Hindustan and not to waste their strength and treasure in the barren plains of the Deccan. He drew a vivid picture of the deeds of Shivaji, who with far less resources had defied the Moghul empire in its heyday. He excited Shahu's cupidity by dwelling on the indolence, the imbecility, and above all, on the wealth of the Moghuls;) and he stimulated his religious zeal by urging him to drive from the holy land of Bharatvarsha the outcast and the barbarian. (The orator's reasoning might have been wasted, but for his transcendent personal qualities. The commanding stature, which all but reached the low ceiling of the royal palace, the rich, clear voice, the bold virile features, the dark, imperious eyes that forced attention, and above all, the rare felicity of diction that for centuries has been the peculiar gift of the Chitpavan Brahman, produced an irresistible effect. At the close of a lofty peroration, the minister fixed on Shahu his glowing gaze and said:

> "Strike, strike at the trunk and the branches will fall of themselves. Listen but to my counsel and I shall plant the Maratha banner on the walls of Attock."

Rhetoric succeeded where argument might have failed. Shahu, completely carried away, cried with blazing eyes: "By heaven! You shall plant it on the throne of the Almighty!"*)

It was, however, sometime before Bajirao could fulfil his dazzling promises. The finances had to be put in order, troops raised and the royal authority strengthened.

* Grant Duff. The learned author has wrongly translated "Kinnar Khand!" The phrase in Shahu's mouth did not mean the country beyond the Himalayas, but the celestial regions.

In 1724, however, he felt strong enough to invade Malwa. This province, as it will be remembered, had been bestowed on Nizam-ul-Mulk. But on the latter's invasion of the Deccan the emperor dismissed him from the governorship of Malwa and conferred it on Raja Giridhaar. The latter was able, since Nizam-ul-Mulk had drained the province of his troops to conquer the Deccan, to win it back with little difficulty to the imperial cause. To resist the Maratha leader was a harder task. Bajirao swept like a whirlwind through Central India. Then leaving it, he appointed as King Shahu's agents Udaji Pawar, Malharrao Holkar and Ranoji Sindia. The first of these was the founder of the house of Dhar, the second was the founder of the state of Indore, and the third the ancestor of the Maharajas of Gwalior.

Malharrao Holkar was of lowly origin. His ancestors were *Dhangars* or herdsmen by caste and first lived in the village of Waphgaon. Afterwards they moved to Hol on the banks of Nira, forty miles from Poona and within the limits of the Phaltan state. Their original name was Virkar, but this they changed to Holkar as a result of their new residence. Malharrao's father was one Khandoji Holkar who held in Hol the office of *Chaugula* or Chaudhari, a superior village servant. He became the father of a baby boy, to whom he gave the name of Malhari. When the boy was only three years old, Khandoji Holkar died. To save her baby from the malice of his father's brothers, his mother Jiwai took him with her to her own village of Talode in Khandesh. There Malhari or Malharrao as he now came to be called, was brought up by his mother's brother Bhojraj, who was in command of a troop of irregular horse under Kantaji Kadam Bande. One day when still a child he went to sleep in the shade of a tree. As he slept, so the story runs, the sun moved and its rays fell upon the unconscious boy. When his mother came to fetch him home, she saw a large cobra protecting his face with its hood expanded. She called

her brother to witness this strange spectacle and both agreed that it foretold the boy's future greatness*. Not long afterwards Bhojraj had a vision of the goddess Lakshmi, who told him that his nephew was destined to be a king. Convinced by these two events that Malharrao was reserved for something better than a herdsman's life, Bhojraj enlisted him as a trooper and gave him in marriage his own daughter Gautamabai. Malharrao's courage soon brought him rewards, but he once nearly ended his career by striking in the face Balaji Vishvanath's son Bajirao with a clod of earth, because the latter objected to his cutting the peasants' corn to feed his horses. Bajirao was generous enough to ask his father to spare the rough soldier. This generosity Holkar did not forget. After the battle of Balapur (1720) in which he greatly distinguished himself, he smoothed over a quarrel between Kanthaji Kadam Bande and Bajirao. This pleased the young Peshwa so much that in 1725 he gave Holkar a command of 500 horse in his own service and became greatly attached to him.

Ranoji Sindia came of an ancient Kshatriya family of which the original name was Sendrak. They rose to the royal notice in the time of the Bahmani Kings and their name was corrupted into Shinde, a word which the English have further corrupted into Sindia. They became patils or herdsmen of the village of Kanherkhed, about twelve miles from Satara. In Aurangzib's time they held commands in his army and the emperor married to Shahu, while in captivity, Savitrabai, the daughter of a Sindia in his service. On Aurangzib's death Savitrabai's father fell fighting for Azam Shah. Ranoji Sindia was a scion of a younger branch. His father was in Balaji Vishvanath's service and he himself was brought up as a playmate of Bajirao. When Bajirao grew up, he made Ranoji his orderly and it was Ranoji's duty to carry his master's slippers. One day Bajirao found his orderly asleep, but

*Holkar Charitra by Mr. Atre, p. 12.

in his slumber Ranoji still held fast the Peshwa's slippers. Bajirao promoted him, believing that one who was so faithful in small things would prove no less faithful in great ones.

The family of Pawar claimed descent from the Parmar Rajputs, whose house, according to the legends of Malwa, ruled over that country for a thousand and fifty-eight years. Krishnaji Pawar distinguished himself under Shivaji and his son Babaji won the title of Vishvasrao from Rajaram at Jinji. He had two grandsons Sambhaji and Kalaji who both served in the royal armies. Sambhaji's three sons were Udaji, Anandrao and Jagdev. (Malcolm's Central India, Chapter IV.)

By the year 1726, however, Nizam-ul-Mulk, rid of the enemies launched against him by the emperor began to feel himself strong enough to oppose the pretensions of Shahu and his minister. In this he was encouraged by Chandrasen Jadhav who hated his former master with the fury of a renegade. Nor was ample ground lacking for a renewal of hostilities. Since his arrival in the Deccan in 1720 the Nizam had been trying continuously to spread his dominion to the farthest limits of southern India. Early in 1723 he seized the town of Trichinopoly from Sarphoji, the son of Shivaji's brother Vyankoji and the ruler of Tanjore. Sarphoji appealed to Shahu. In 1727 A. D. Shahu sent to Sarphoji's help a large army under Fatehsing Bhosle, who was deemed to have special interests in the Carnatic. Under Fatehsing Bhosle went Bajirao and the Pratinidhi Shripatrao. The Marathas exacted arrears of tribute from the chiefs of Bednore, Gadag and Shrirangpatan, better known by its English name of Seringapatam. But owing to the ill-feeling of the Pratinidhi towards Bajirao and the indifference of Fatehsing Bhosle to his soldiers' welfare, the Maratha losses were extremely heavy and the Nizam soon regained most of the territory that Shahu had taken.

The Nizam's plan to humble Shahu was a subtle one. He first withdrew his headquarters from Aurangabad to

Haidarabad and won the Pratinidhi's good-will by offering him a jaghir in Berar, as an equivalent for the *chauth* payable on his new capital. Bajirao indignantly protested but in vain. Shahu, who did not penetrate the schemes of his powerful neighbour, was induced by the Pratinidhi to approve the exchange, since, so he said, the Nizam would feel deeply the payment of tribute on his metropolis. Encouraged by this success, the Nizam next affected ignorance of the respective claims of Shahu and Rajaram's son Sambhaji. He declared himself unable to pay to the Maratha government its *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*, until the matter had been settled. At the same time he removed Shahu's agents from his dominions and invited both Shahu and Sambhaji to send envoys to Haidarabad, where he would himself decide which of the two princes had the better right to the crown of the Marathas. The Pratinidhi blinded by his hatred for Bajirao, urged his sovereign to comply. But the Peshwa laughed his rival to scorn and so worked on Shahu's feelings that the king instantly declared war. The Nizam successfully invoked the aid of Sambhaji. The latter joined the Nizam's camp with a large Maratha force and the Nizam flattered himself that he would be able to destroy the power of the Marathas, forcing them into a civil war, which would never, if his efforts availed anything, be ended. But he had counted without the genius of Bajirao. That aspiring statesman soon shewed himself as great in the field, as he had been eloquent in the council chamber. On the 7th August 1727, while rain was still falling, Bajirao led his army into the field. Entering the Aurangabad district, he first plundered Jalna and the districts round it. The Nizam sent a force under Ewaz Khan to meet him. After an indecisive action, the Peshwa outmarched his opponent and reached Mahur. Again turning towards Aurangabad, he gave out that he meant to plunder Burhanpur. To protect the wealthy city, the Nizam hastened to join Ewaz Khan. But Bajirao had already left Khandesh and plundering as he went, had

entered Guzarat and had informed Sarbuland Khan with grim humour that he was invading the province under the Nizam's orders. The latter furious at being outwitted, marched with his whole strength on Poona. Bajirao whose plan was to exhaust the Nizam's soldiers before he attacked them, left Guzarat and again invaded his enemy's dominions along the banks of the Godavari. The Nizam abandoned his plan of marching on Poona and went eastwards so rapidly that he crossed the Godavari lower down and waited for Bajirao astride the river. The Nizam's cavalry was now tired out, so Bajirao no longer fled before him. Retreating slowly Bajirao tempted the Moghuls to follow him away from the river into the hilly country near the town of Palkhed*. He then took the offensive and soon forced the Nizam to take post. Thereupon Bajirao completely surrounded him and but for the Nizam's heavy artillery, he would soon have been compelled to surrender together with Sambhaji. The Nizam's big guns saved him. Forcing his way by the fire of his massed batteries through the investing force, he succeeded in reaching the Godavari river near the town of Mungi Shevgaon. He had now water and a considerable store of provisions. Nevertheless his was a besieged force and he sent his lieutenant Ewaz Khan to open negotiations. Bajirao demanded the immediate surrender of Sambhaji, the payment of all arrears of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*, the reinstatement of the Maratha revenue officers, the recognition of Shahu as sole king of the Marathas, and the grant of a substantial jaghir to Bajirao. The Nizam honourably refused to surrender Sambhaji, but he agreed to the remaining conditions. Eventually it was settled that the Nizam should send Sambhaji with his force to Panhala and that thereafter Shahu should be at liberty to take such action against him, as he might deem necessary. This treaty known as the treaty of Mungi Shevgaon was signed on the sixth March 1728. The document executed, Bajirao allowed the

* The battle is known as the battle of Palkhed.

Nizam to retire to his own dominions and turned his attention to Guzarat, where Sarbuland Khan, deserted by the emperor and by the vazir, Khan Dauran, was anxious to come to terms with the Marathas. Pilaji Gaikvad and Kanthaji Kadam Bande were already living on the country. A third force under Chimnaji Appa, the younger brother of the Peshwa, now invaded Guzarat and plundered Dholka. The two first Sarbuland Khan regarded as little better than bandits, but Chimnaji Appa had behind him the authority both of the king and the Peshwa. To Chimnaji Appa, therefore, the distracted Sarbuland Khan addressed himself and offered to give him the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of Guzarat, if he would protect him from other Maratha marauders. This offer was reported to the Peshwa and in 1729 A. D. a treaty was executed between Bajirao and the viceroy of Guzarat. Surat was wholly excepted from the treaty. Of the Ahmadabad revenues the Marathas were to receive only five per cent. On the rest of the Guzarat province Sarbuland Khan agreed to pay *chauth* ($\frac{1}{4}$) and *sardeshmukhi* ($\frac{1}{10}$th). On the other hand, Shahu was to provide two thousand five hundred cavalry for the imperial service and keep in check Pilaji Gaikvad and Kanthaji Kadam Bande.

In spite of the failure of his first scheme, the Nizam did not yet despair of sowing discord between the Maratha leaders. He found ready to his hand a fitting instrument in Trimbakrao Dabhade. He, it will be remembered, was the son of Khanderao Dabhade and the commander-in-chief of the Maratha army. Pilaji Gaikvad was his lieutenant. The recent treaty between Sarbuland Khan and Bajirao gravely affected his interests. Khanderao's early victories and Pilaji Gaikvad's later successes were to be wholly disregarded and the fruits were to be gathered for the king's treasury by Bajirao alone. On the other hand, as may be seen from a letter written to him by Shahu on the 21st May 1728*, Trimbakrao himself was debarred from

* "What business have you," wrote the king, "to collect money and raise a

improving his fortunes in Malwa. After a vain protest to King Shahu, the high-spirited Maratha lent a willing ear to the emissaries of the Nizam. It was agreed that Trimbakrao Dabhade should march with all available troops and effect a junction with the Nizam's army near Ahmadnagar. Letters were also sent to Prince Sambhaji, inviting his assistance. Bajirao's secret service was excellent and he soon came to hear of this formidable plot and informed King Shahu. On the other hand, Dabhade's friends at court vigorously assured the king of the Maratha chief's loyalty. It was not he, they pleaded, who began the quarrel, but Chimnaji Appa. The latter had entered Guzarat, the province that by right of conquest belonged, under the royal authority, to the Dabhade family. With his habitual good sense Shahu brushed aside these plausible quibbles. No matter what wrongs Trimbakrao Dabhade had, retorted the king to the Deccan leaders, nothing justified his treason with the Nizam and his seditious correspondence with Sambhaji. Dabhade had chosen to have recourse to arms and he would suffer the consequences. The royal resources would be placed entirely at Bajirao's disposal. Nevertheless Shahu was greatly averse from civil warfare. Defeat meant the possible extinction of the dynasty. Victory would hardly be less disastrous than defeat. Bajirao and not the king would profit by the former's success. On the 8th July 1730 Shahu summoned to his camp at Umbrej Bajirao and Chimnaji Appa. He ordered them to go with a field force to Guzarat, but to neglect no means of conciliating the enemy before attacking him. The brothers agreed; but it was the height of the monsoon and in the rainy season the roads of Guzarat are impassable. Family affairs, too, contributed to delay. On the 2nd August 1730 Rakhmabai, the wife of Chimnaji

---

disturbance in Malwa and plunder the country side? Whatever money you have collected, you must pay to Bajirao Pandit; otherwise he will collect an equivalent from your private estates. In future you must leave Malwa alone and, retiring to Guzarat, give no further cause for complaint."

Appa, gave birth to a baby boy, who on the 14th August received the name of Sadashivrao. On the 31st August Rakhmabai died of puerperal fever. The sorrowing brothers passed September in Poona. On the tenth October fell the Dasara festival and on that auspicious day the tents of the two commanders rose at the Sangam or junction of the Mûta and Mula rivers, now the residence of the judge of Poona. On the 13th October the royal army began the march to Guzarat. Whatever efforts to conciliate Trimbakrao Bajirao may have wished to make, the presence of two armies in the field must have rendered their success unlikely; and while he conducted negotiations, he had to take careful measures to prevent Trimbakrao's junction with the Nizam. Bajirao's troops numbered twenty-five thousand, while Trimbakrao had no less than forty-five thousand men. But the latter's force was composed largely of Koli and Bhil levies, who, as the Peshwa knew, would be useless against Maratha troops. The soldiers whom he feared were the Deccan veterans, who had served under Khanderao Dabhade. But these did not outnumber his own and he had besides the prestige of the royal authority. Dabhade, so Bajirao proclaimed, was a rebel and was leagued with a foreign army to enslave Maratha freedom, won by the great king and to divide Shivaji's conquests between Sambhaji and the Moghuls. The first encounter between the rivals was on the Narbada river, when a body of troops under Damaji Gaikvad inflicted a severe reverse on Bajirao's vanguard, as it was crossing the stream. But Bajirao with the main army pressed on and on the first April 1731 forced Trimbakrao to a battle between Dabhai and Baroda, commonly known as the battle of Dabhai. As Bajirao had foreseen, the new levies fled at the first charge of the Maratha horse. Kanthaji Kadam Bande, who had joined Trimbakrao, but whose interests were really opposed to his, fled also. But the soldiers of Khanderao Dabhade fought with desperate valour in defence of his son. Nor was the general unworthy

of his troops. That his elephant might not be swept away in the tide of flight, he had its legs chained to a gun carriage. From his howdah he shot so many arrows that the skin peeled off his fingers; and he directed the battle with such resolution, that at one time it seemed to Bajirao that the day was lost. To save it the Peshwa exchanged his elephant for a horse, collected a number of picked swordsmen and with them cut his way near to where Trimbakrao's elephant stood. He then sent a camel sowar with a flag of truce and a letter to the opposing general. "Such gallantry as yours," he wrote, "should be shewn against the Maharaja's enemies. Let us stay the fight and once more try to effect a compromise." Trimbakrao scornfully rejected the offer and unchaining his elephant's legs, ordered the mahout to drive it against Bajirao. The Peshwa's swordsmen surrounded the beast and killing the mahout attacked the general. Undaunted, the Maratha chief flung on the ground the mahout's body and taking his place, showered arrow after arrow at the swordsmen. Bajirao called to them not to kill Dabhade but to take him alive. This, however, was impossible, as Dabhade refused to yield. At last perfidy succeeded, where generalship had failed. At the moment that Trimbakrao was preparing to counterattack and was ordering a general advance, his maternal uncle Bhausingrao Toke* treacherously shot him in the head from behind, killing him instantly. On the death of their leader Trimbakrao's troops broke and fled. The Peshwa's victory was complete. Jawaji Dabhade, Maloji Pawar and a son of Pilaji Gaikvad fell on the battle-field. Pilaji Gaikvad escaped wounded from the fight, but he was unable to make any further resistance to the king's authority.

After the battle Bajirao sent an account of it to his royal master. Shahu's reply shewed how deeply he felt the quarrels of his high commanders.

"He intrigued no doubt with the Nizam," wrote the

*Dabhade Bakhar.

king sadly, "in his wickedness he fought against us and he has eaten the fruit thereof. But the lives of my officers have been uselessly wasted. The past can never be effaced. Both sides must now make peace with each other and cease from strife."

Having thus written to Bajirao, Shahu sent for him and for Trimbakrao's brothers Yashwantrao and Savai Baburao and for Khanderao Dabhade's widow Umabai and did all that he could to effect a reconciliation. He made both Bajirao and Chimnaji Appa fall at Umabai's feet and ask her forgiveness.* Thereafter he conferred on Yashwantrao the title of Senapati and on Savai Baburao that of Sena Khas Khel. He then bade Umabai and her sons return to Talegaon Dabhade. He himself went to the temple of Khandoba at Jejuri. After prostrating himself in the presence of the gods, he purified himself from the guilt of Trimbakrao's death. He next set himself to the practical side of the question. He defined the boundaries of Malwa and Guzarat and passed orders that half the revenues of each province should be paid direct to the royal treasury by the Peshwa. The other half of the Guzarat revenues should be allotted to the Dabhades for the upkeep of the army of occupation. The other half of the Malwa revenues should similarly be allotted to Bajirao for his military expenses. But in spite of the royal generosity, the house of Dabhade never recovered from the ruinous defeat of Dabhai. Yashwantrao in spite of his title of commander-in-chief was unwilling to serve with his father's conqueror. His idleness led him into evil ways and he became a victim to drink and opium. In course of time all the power of the house of Dabhade passed to their lieutenants, the descendants of Pilaji Gaikvad.

While King Shahu's arms were thus victorious in Guzarat, he won a no less decisive success on his southern frontier. Prince Sambhaji on his return to Panhala still refused to acknowledge Shahu's suzerainty. Nevertheless

* Riyasat, vol. II., p. 258.

overawed by the defeat of the Nizam, he remained for some months quiet in Panhala fort. In 1729, however, he received both from Trimbakrao Dabhade and the Nizam letters appealing to him to join them in overthrowing the domination of Bajirao. These appeals found support in Sambhaji's wife Jijabai, a headstrong, violent-tempered woman of the house of Sindia of Toragal and in one of the prince's nobles Udaji Chavan. The latter was the son of that Vithoji Chavan, who had acted as Santaji Ghorpade's lieutenant in the daring raid on the emperor's camp at Tulapur. In 1696 Vithoji Chavan had fallen in the Carnatic and his son Udaji succeeded to his possessions and his title of Himmat Bahadur. The father had been the close friend of Ramchandra Nilkanth and with Ramchandra Udaji joined the side of Tarabai. He built himself a castle at Battis Shirale and from that vantage point raided Shahu's territories. With grim humour he gave to his plunder the name of "Chavan Chauth."

Udaji Chavan now obtained from Sambhaji leave to lead a force across the Warna river. He pitched his camp at Shirol and began to plunder the countryside. Shahu who was hunting in the neighbourhood, sent for Udaji Chavan, promising him a safe conduct. Udaji Chavan presented himself before the king, who complained bitterly of his behaviour. Udaji Chavan said little in reply, but returned to camp, his heart bursting with resentment. A few days later four assassins entered Shahu's tent. So majestic was the king's bearing and so indifferent was he to danger, that the assassins lost heart and throwing down their arms, begged for mercy. He asked them whence they had come and they admitted that they had been sent by Udaji Chavan. With admirable irony Shahu gave them each a gold bracelet and bade them pick up their arms and take back to their employer a certificate from himself, that they were good and faithful servants. But if the king could thus jest with death, he was in earnest in his resolve to put a stop to these unprovoked inroads. Since

the battle of Palkhed the Pratinidhi had lost much of his master's favour. Hearing that a force was to be raised for service against Sambhaji, he begged the king to entrust to him the command and allow him by his future conduct to atone for his mistakes in the past. The king consented, but sent as Shripatrao's lieutenant an experienced soldier, Shambhusing Jadav. He was the second son of Dhanaji Jadav and the younger brother of Chandrasen Jadav. He had with his brother entered the Nizam's service. Having quarrelled with Chandrasen, he had made his peace with the king.

Sambhaji although willing to wound, was yet afraid to strike; and he would gladly have disowned Udaji Chavan. This, too, was the counsel of Vyankatrao Joshi, Bajirao's brother-in-law and of Bhagwantrao, the son of Ramchandra Nilkanth. But Udaji Chavan had great influence with his master; and by promising him certain victory he induced Sambhaji to declare open war and to join the camp on the Warna with large reinforcements. In spite of Udaji's boasts, victory did not attend Sambhaji's banners. In January 1730 the Pratinidhi, at Shambhusing's suggestion, suddenly marched against the Warna camp and completely surprised the enemy. Udaji Chavan, who was responsible for the expedition, was one of the first to leave the field. He induced Sambhaji to flee with him. The Kolhapur soldiery, deserted by their leaders, lost heart and were slaughtered like sheep or driven into the Warna. All Sambhaji's military chest and stores fell into the Pratinidhi's hands. So, too, did Tarabai, Rajasbai, Sambhaji's wife Jijabai, Bhagwantrao Ramchandra and Vyankatrao Joshi. The Pratinidhi took his prisoners to King Shahu. The latter with chivalrous courtesy sent to Panhala Rajasbai and Jijabai, Sambhaji's mother and wife. He would also have sent Tarabai. But the old queen was only too glad to escape from her co-wife's clutches. With sardonic wit she observed that it was her lot everywhere to live in confinement. It was, therefore, useless to move her from

one prison to another. Shahu readily consented to keep her with him. He had an old palace in Satara fort prepared for her reception. There she lived until Shahu's death once more brought her into prominence. Bhagwantrao Ramchandra was ransomed by Sambhaji and after the lapse of some time Bajirao paid ten thousand rupees as ransom for Vyankatrao Joshi. Udaji Chavan's influence did not survive this decisive defeat and his own cowardly conduct. The Pratinidhi's victorious army took Vishalgad by storm in October 1730. Sambhaji's nobles hastened to make their peace with the invader; and the prince had no alternative but to throw himself on his cousin's mercy. Generous as ever, Shahu willingly forgave him and Tarabai lent her services in the negotiations for peace. There had been two previous attempts on Shahu's part to obtain a treaty, first from Prince Shivaji in 1708 and again from prince Sambhaji in 1726. The drafts of these abortive negotiations formed a basis for the new draft. Pending its preparation Shahu invited Sambhaji to visit him. Such an invitation was indistinguishable from a command and Sambhaji accepted it. In January 1731 Shahu sent from Satara Shripatrao the Pratinidhi, Ambaji Purandare and other notable officers and nobles to escort Sambhaji into his dominions. With a large body of horse the Pratinidhi encamped below Panhala. Ascending the fort, he presented Sambhaji with a number of horses and elephants and costly saddlery. A day or two later Sambhaji descended from the fort and returned the visit. These courtesies over, Sambhaji escorted by his own picked troops and the Pratinidhi's escort marched with him to Wathar in the Satara district. There the prince and the soldiers halted while the Pratinidhi went to Umbraj to inform Shahu of the arrival of the royal visitor. From Umbraj the king moved to Karhad and pitched his camp on the banks of the Krishna river. An open space known as the Jakhinvadi plain had been chosen as the meeting place of the two cousins. The ground between the royal camps was covered

with the tents and equipage of the nobles of Maharashtra, who on this great occasion vied with each other in the splendour of their trappings and the profusion of their jewelry. There were present no less than two hundred thousand soldiers together with horses and baggage trains in countless numbers. On the appointed day Shahu and Sambhaji on the backs of elephants set out from their respective camps, their howdahs blazing with precious stones. When they came in sight of each other, their elephants kneeled and their riders left them to mount richly saddled Arab chargers. When the horses met, the two princes alighted. Sambhaji put his head on Shahu's feet in token of submission. Shahu bent down and lifting up his cousin clasped him to his breast. Then according to the gracious custom of the East, Shahu and Sambhaji decked each other with golden favours and garlands of flowers. This formal meeting over, both princes returned to their quarters. On the 17th February 1731, Shahu received a visit from Sambhaji. It was arranged that the king and prince should again meet in public on an open space close to Karhad on the banks of the Krishna. The ceremonies observed were similar to those at the first meeting. But after the princes had embraced, Shahu seated Sambhaji beside him on his own elephant, while Shambhusing Jadav waved impartially over the heads of both the royal horsetails. Shahu's elephant bore him and his guest back to the king's camp. There Shahu lavished on his cousin presents of elephants, horses, cloth of gold, jewels and treasure. From Karhad the princes went to Umbraj, where the king gave a series of magnificent entertainments. Then he insisted that Sambhaji should pass with him the Holi festival at Satara. The Peshwa's mansion was placed at the prince's disposal. There he remained for two months. While the terms of the treaty were being discussed, the Maratha nobles in turn invited Sambhaji to a series of splendid banquets. When the treaty of Warna, as it is called, had been settled, Shahu

showered on his guest further gifts, one of which was a sum of two hundred thousand rupees in cash and allowed him to depart. Fatehsing Bhosle was ordered to escort the prince back to Panhala. Shahu himself accompanied Sambhaji for eight miles, all of which were ablaze with the jewels and silks of the nobles in the train of the two monarchs. Even the splendours of the French nobles, when Henry met Francis on the field of the cloth of gold, would have paled before the magnificence of Sambhaji's reception by Shahu. Nevertheless behind all the royal courtesy and munificence were the clauses of the treaty and they did not err on the side of undue leniency. Its wording shewed that it was dictated by a superior to an inferior and converted Sambhaji from an independent sovereign to a prince in subordinate alliance to Shahu and completely cut off Sambhaji from the North. He could only extend his dominions southwards and even then he bound himself to hand over half his conquests to Shahu. The full text of the treaty will be found in an appendix to this chapter.

Sambhaji never again carried on war against his suzerain. But he often grumbled at the harshness of the Warna treaty and made various efforts to get it modified. In 1734 and 1741 he went with his queen to Satara to try to win over Shahu to leniency, but in vain. In 1741, however, he induced Balaji Bajirao to promise to him the succession of Shahu's kingdom, a promise, which, for reasons to be disclosed hereafter, Balaji failed to keep. In 1746 Sambhaji spent no less than six months in Satara trying without success to enforce his claims to some estate in the Carnatic. It must be conceded that there was nothing in the prince's character to excite the reader's sympathy. He was lazy and self-indulgent and cared for war only as a means of obtaining plunder. He married seven wives and on them and on his mistresses he spent the revenues of his little kingdom. He died on the 20th December 1760. His former adviser Udaji Chavan predeceased

him by seven years. In spite of the treaty of Warna, Udaji Chavân still strove to create disorders in Shahu's kingdom. In 1731 he made another raid into the king's territory. Shahu detached a force under Yashwantrao Potnis to oppose him. He was defeated and taken, but released on payment of a heavy fine. In 1737 when Shahu marched against Miraj, Udaji Chavan openly helped the Nizam. He was made prisoner by the Pratinidhi. Shahu graciously pardoned him, but he fled into the Nizam's dominions, whence he from time to time made plundering expeditions into Maharashtra. In 1751 Balaji Bajirao bribed him with an estate near Digraj in Sangli territory. But Udaji Chavan never ceased to be a robber chief. In 1753 he made a raid on a village near Miraj. A bullet from a villager's gun knocked him off his horse. His foot caught in his stirrup and hanging head downwards, he was dragged and kicked to death.

After the Dabhades had gone to Talegaon, Bajirao returned to Guzarat. Obtaining from Sar Buland Khan a ratification of their former treaty, Bajirao went back to Satara. His intention was to teach the Nizam such a lesson as would for ever restrain him from attempts to sow discord among the chiefs of Maharashtra.

APPENDIX

THE TREATY OF WARNA GRANTED, BY ṢHAHU TO SAMBHAJI

Clause 1. The province known as the Waruna Mahal is given to you with all its forts and strong places.

Clause 2. Half of all the states from the Tungabhadra southwards to Rameshwaram are given to you and half is kept for ourselves.

Clause 3. In exchange for Kopal you have given us Ratnagiri.

Clause 4. The fort of Vadgaon must be destroyed.

Clause 5. All your enemies shall be our enemies. Our enemies shall be your enemies. We shall both work in union for the welfare of the kingdom.

Clause 6. From the junction of the Warna and Krishna rivers as far as the junction of the Tungabhadra and the Krishna the southern bank with all its forts and strong places is yours.

Clause 7. The Konkan from Salsi as far as Ankola is yours.

Clause 8. You shall employ and pay no one in our territories. We shall employ and pay no one in your territories.

Clause 9. You must surrender the fort and district of Miraj and the forts and districts of Bijapur, Athani and Tasgaon.*

* History of Ichalkaranji State, p. 39.

CHAPTER XL

KANHOJI ANGRE AND THE ENGLISH

SINCE their naval encounter with Shivaji* the English in Surat and Bombay had lived in peace with their neighbours. They were brought to the verge of ruin by a domestic upheaval. The British Parliament had certainly meant to confer on the East India Company the monopoly of the eastern trade; but the charter was ambiguously worded, and some adventurous London merchants interpreting its language according to their own wishes, held that they were allowed by law to set up as trade rivals to the Company. In September, 1682, one Say set up as a trader in Muscat. In October 1682 another English ship came to Goa, three more to Bengal and yet another to Surat. These "interlopers" as they were called, made such handsome profits that two of the Bombay Council, Petit and Bourchier† by name, took shares in their ventures. Their conduct came to light and they were dismissed. Two other Englishmen, Vincent and Pitt, were for similar offences dismissed by the Bengal Council†. These four men combined and by their correspondence corrupted their former fellow servants. At the same time they did their utmost to win over to the cause the military. Their task was made easier by the action of Sir John Child, the President of the East India Company. He had lately cut down the officers' allowances and reduced the rate of exchange at which both they and the common soldiers were paid. The officers at first remonstrated, but on receiving a discourteous refusal, determined to mutiny. On the 24th December 1683 Captain Keigwin, the senior military officer

*See vol. 1., p 289.

† Orme's Fragments, p. 182.

in Bombay, backed by the guard of the fort, seized Mr. Charles Ward, the deputy governor, and his four members of the council. He then issued a proclamation that he was holding the island for the king as his loyal subject and that the government would in future rest in himself as governor. As his council, he appointed Captains Fletcher and Thornburn and two ensigns. Any attempt to restore the Company's government would be suppressed with military rigour.

It must be admitted that the rebels shewed a resolution that had often been lacking in the counsels of the Company. They got Sambhaji to confirm Shivaji's treaty with Mr. Oxenden and to pay the 2000 pagodas which were still due to the Company for their losses at Hubli and Rajapur. Further, the king granted them the right to establish factories at Cuddalore and Thevenapattam. On the other hand, the Portuguese would neither trade with nor recognise the rebels; and the friendship of the Sidis which they cultivated was more harmful to them than profitable. The Sidis used the harbour of Bombay as a base for their piracies; and in no long time the inhabitants of the mainland refused to the islanders supplies. By the end of the monsoon of 1684, the rebels were pressed by scarcity and readily accepted an amnesty offered them by Sir Thomas Grantham, who on the 3rd November, 1684, reached Bombay in His Majesty's ship, Charles the Second. On the 11th November, the Company without bloodshed recovered their possession. Keigwin sailed back to England; the rest of the rebels resumed their former posts.

The outbreak, although suppressed, had evil consequences. The trade of Bombay dwindled and its importance declined. At the same time the rise of Kanhoji Angre's power threatened its very existence. As admiral of the Maratha fleet, he was in possession of the island of Khanderi, sixteen miles south of Bombay harbour. As has already been related, he tried to make himself independent, but was at length induced by Balaji Vishvanath in return for

help against the Sidis of Janjira to become a subordinate ally of King Shahu. With the aid of the royal troops he drove the Sidis from the Konkan seaboard, taking a number of their fortresses, of which the chief were Viziadurg, or Gheriah as it was then called, and Kolaba. To retain his possessions against the Sidis, Kanhoji Angre was obliged to maintain a large force and to pay his men he had to levy *chauth*, as he called it, from the ships trading in the Arabian Sea. His method of levying *chauth* was to take the ships with their entire cargoes, and the phrase was merely a euphemism for piracy.

His first recorded attack on an English ship was on the yacht* conveying Mr. Chown, the newly appointed governor of the English factory at Karwar. With Mr. Chown was his wife, who lived to have the cruel experience of being widowed three times before she was twenty. She was the daughter of Captain Cooke, the Company's Chief Engineer in Bengal and was married when only thirteen to Mr. Harvey, the then governor of Karwar, a man far older than she was. He died a year after her marriage and not long afterwards she married Mr. Chown, who had been nominated governor of Karwar in her husband's place. They embarked together on the yacht of Mr. Hasleby, then governor of Bombay. To escort the yacht went a small man of war. While they were still in sight of Bombay island, the two ships were attacked by a fleet of grabs or armed sailing vessels belonging to Angre. The yacht defended itself gallantly. But Chown's arm was shot off and he bled to death in his wife's arms. Mrs. Chown and the crew were taken. The man-of-war fled back to Bombay with the news of Mrs. Chown's capture. The Bombay government applied for her release, but to procure it had to pay Rs. 30,000 by way of ransom. A short time after her return to Bombay she married a Mr. Gifford, who in no long time was murdered at Anjango by the Nagas

*The following account is taken from Clement Downing's "History of the India Wars"

of Malabar. She then sailed to England and remained for the rest of her life satisfied with this triple although brief experience of matrimony. For two years after the capture of the governor's yacht Angre left the English alone; then he attacked the 'Sommers' and the 'Grantham', two ships commanded by Captains Peacock and Collet. The two ships successfully beat off the pirates, but afterwards Angre took a number of country craft which he armed and added to his fleet. These caused immense damage to the English coastwise trade. In 1715 Mr. Charles Boone was appointed governor of Bombay. He decided to destroy, if he could, Angre's strongholds. He had built at Surat two large frigates called the 'Fame' and the 'Revenge' and at Karwar a third frigate called the 'Britannia.' About the same time he built a wall round Bombay and mounted on it a number of forty-eight pounders. He next fitted out the frigates and sending with them a fleet of smaller vessels he ordered them to make an attack on Viziadurg. In April 1717 the English fleet cast anchor in Viziadurg harbour, which was only twelve hours' sail from Bombay. In command was Captain Berlew. His plan was to batter down the fortifications by the fire of his frigates, next to send in a lighted fireship which would drive the garrison out of the fortress, and then running his small vessels ashore destroy the garrison and take Viziadurg by escalade, as they strove to retreat. But Captain Berlew had made his plan without a full knowledge of its difficulties. The fortifications resisted the heavy guns of the frigates. The shells that fell inside the fortress did little damage, because their fuses were too long. A boom across the inner harbour stopped the fireship and the garrison so far from retreating, jeered at their enemies from the secure shelter of the walls. When the English tried to escalade, their scaling ladders proved too short. Night fell and the besiegers had achieved nothing beyond knocking down three houses inside Viziadurg. It was clear that to take the place was impossible. It was, therefore, decided to

destroy the shipping and sail back to Bombay. But even this proved beyond the power of the besiegers. Next morning they landed safely at some distance below Viziadurg. But when they came within a mile of the shipping they found it protected by a deep and muddy swamp which they could not cross. The garrison watched with amusement their futile efforts and directly they began to retreat, opened on them a heavy fire. As the garrison did not exceed a hundred, they did not sally out of the castle; so Captain Berlew, once out of range, withdrew unmolested to his ships. He had achieved nothing and had lost a number of killed and wounded. The casualties had been increased by the bursting of a gun on board a galley called the Hunter, which killed three and wounded many others.

Mr. Boone attempted nothing more until November 1718, when the English fleet set out to storm Khanderi. Unhappily he chose for his admiral not one of his English captains, but a Portuguese named Manuel de Castro. This man had become a Musulman and had joined Angre. Afterwards to escape that chief's wrath, he had fled to Bombay. Insinuating and persuasive, he won Mr. Boone's confidence by assuring him that he knew perfectly every cove and inlet of Angre's islands. His appointment as admiral not unnaturally annoyed the English captains, who had formed no high opinion of de Castro, when present at a recent action against some Kanarese pirates near Karwar. The fleet under de Castro's command was a formidable one. Three British ships, the Addison, the Stanhope and the Dartmouth with 300 soldiers on board had reached Bombay in September and with this reinforcement the English numbered no less than 2500 men. On the 3rd November 1718 the fleet anchored south of Khanderi. On the 4th November de Castro sent a number of boats to row round the island and reconnoitre it for a suitable landing place. The sailors reported that they had found a sandy cove and it was resolved to land there after

silencing the enemy's guns. At 4 a. m. on the 5th the English ships opened fire and continued all day, repeatedly dismounting Angre's cannon. The garrison replied vigorously until 4 p. m. when their ammunition gave out. Their silence filled the besiegers with hope and Mr. Boone, who was present on board the Addison, told de Castro to lie at the mouth of the sandy cove to prevent any enemy ships entering it. But de Castro proved not only incompetent, but treacherous. During the night he landed on the island, told the garrison Mr. Boone's plan and afterwards let five Maratha supply ships pass through his fleet. Mr. Boone heard of de Castro's treachery next day and he passed the 6th November in considering whether or not he should attempt a landing. He finally decided to attempt it. Early on the 7th, the boats were manned but the tide was too high and before the English could get on shore the Marathas with their fresh supply of ammunition shot down sixty of them. Nevertheless the landing party persevered until they reached one of the outer gates of the fort. A Mr. Steele, axe in hand, cut through the bar of the gate and had he been supported might have forced it open. But two captains in the Company's service disgraced themselves. One threw down his sword and refused to leave his boat. The other marched up to one of the gates and fired his pistol into the lock. As he might have anticipated, the bullet rebounded and wounded him in the nose. The pain of the wound overcame his courage, and sounding a retreat he fled back with his men to the boats. A small party under one Downing, from whose account I have written this chapter, still persevered. But the garrison shot them down from the walls, until the few survivors were forced to follow their comrades and return to their ships.

Mr. Boone, justly angered at the failure of the assault, relieved de Castro of his command and a court-martial sentenced him to be sent as a slave to Saint Helena. From that island, however, he succeeded in escaping back to

India and again joined Angre. Mr. Boone although disgusted, was not dismayed and had a floating castle made to which he gave the name of the Prahm. It had a low draught, was very stoutly built and carried twelve 48 pounders. It was believed that, it would, if towed close to Khanderi, be able, uninjured itself, to batter down the fortifications. But before it could effect anything a strange mishap overtook it. In 1719 the English fleet with the Prahm in tow went down to Anjango. On their return journey they fell in with two English pirates, England and Taylor, on board the Cassandra and Victory, two ships which they had taken from the Portuguese. The English fleet could easily have overpowered the pirates; but Captain Upton, the officer in command, was a poltroon and he was so alarmed that he burnt the Prahm and sailed back as fast as he could to Bombay harbour.

By this time the successes of Angre and the harm done their ships by England, Taylor and other pirates had led the court of Directors to beg King George I. for naval help. In 1722 the king graciously sent out a squadron of four men-of-war the Lyon under Captain Readish, the Salisbury under Captain Cockburn, the Exeter under Sir Robert Johnson and the Shoreham under Captain Maine; the squadron was under the command of Commodore Mathews. The ships reached Bombay at different intervals, but were all gathered in the great harbour by the 3rd October. Some days, however, passed before the Commodore would land. As a highly placed officer of the Royal Navy, he deemed himself superior in rank to Mr. Boone, the governor of Bombay and President of the Council, and would not leave his ship until he had received a salute from the shore batteries. On the other hand Mr. Boone who, as President ol the Council was the king's representative, considered himself senior to the Commodore.* After many messages and much controversy, Mr. Boone gave way and saluted Commodore Mathews, as he desired. The

* He was appointed Governor by the Company and President by the king

Commodore and his officers then landed, but bore themselves in a manner that left in no doubt the poor opinion they had of the Company's servants. They would hardly deign speak to any one except the Governor. At the same time hardly a day passed, that they did not fight at least one duel among themselves. The Company's servants, although humiliated by the arrogance of the visitors, still hoped great things from their quarrelsome dispositions and fancied that the mere sight of one of Angre's castles would rouse them to such fury, that resistance would be impossible. Commodore Mathews discussed various plans with the President and his council. Finally it was resolved to attack Kolaba and to invite the help of the Portuguese. Messengers were sent both to the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa and to the General of the North, as the Governor of Bassein and the island of Salsette was called. Both the high Portuguese officials came to Bombay and accepted the English invitation, agreeing to lead in person contingents from Goa and Bassein. Mr. Boone entertained them magnificently and they in turn consented courteously to serve under a British commander. Mr. Boone appointed a Mr. Cowing, one of his council, general-in-chief, and distributed among other civil servants of the company a number of military commissions. The Governor of Bombay reviewed the English forces on the island and expressed himself confident of success. The troops embarked and were conveyed to Chaul, where the Portuguese contingents awaited them. From Chaul they marched ten or twelve miles to Kolaba. The allied forces numbered no less than five thousand men with twenty-four field pieces, and if properly led, should have conquered all Angre's possessions. But the general-in-chief, Mr. Cowing, had no experience of war. Commodore Mathews had only seen service at sea; and between the English and the Portuguese was the mutual distrust born of more than a century of rivalry and warfare. From the first, things went badly with the

expedition. Captain Maine, anxious to bring his guns to bear on the fort ran his ship, the Shoreham, on the rocks. Commodore Mathews venturing out too far to reconnoitre the enemy's position, was attacked by one of Angre's troopers and received a lance wound in the thigh. Galloping after the trooper in one of the furies of rage to which he was unusually prone, Mathews fired at him his two pistols, only to find that he had forgotten to load them. The Viceroy of Goa complained of illness and retired to his cabin on board ship. Mr. Cowing, however, would not delay the attack and next day the English army led by Mr. Cowing and the Portuguese contingents led by the General of the North, marched boldly up to Angre's walls. The English sailors put up scaling ladders and a number of them under Mr. Bellamy, a naval officer, scaled the walls. But Angre, cognisant of the allied plans, had assembled a considerable army inside the fortress. The sailors were attacked and checked by large bodies of Marathas while another Maratha force accompanied by numerous war elephants attacked the Portuguese flank. The Portuguese, ignorant how to meet the monsters, were seized with a panic and fled, leaving the English sailors and soldiers to sustain the shock of Angre's entire army. After a brave resistance, the English were driven back to their camp with the loss of several of their guns and nearly all their ammunition. Commodore Mathews, furious at the defeat did not hesitate to charge the Portuguese with treachery; and to enforce his argument he thrust his cane into the mouth of the General of the North and was hardly less discourteous to the Viceroy of Goa. No further co-operation was possible after the Commodore's conduct. The Portuguese marched back to Chaul. The English sailed back to Bombay. After this third disaster, Mr. Boone gave up attempting to reduce Angre's strongholds and confined himself to the convoy by armed vessels of the English trading ships. In 1724 the Dutch attacked Viziadurg with no less than seven warships, two bomb

vessels, and a body of regular troops. They also failed; and the stout old Maratha admiral, victorious alike over English, Dutch and Portuguese, sailed the Arabian Sea in triumph. In 1727 he took the Darby, a richly laden East India man, and up to 1731*, the year of his death, he was the terror of the western coast.

*I have taken the date of Angre's death from Mr. Ismael Gracias' Os ultimos cinco generaes do Norte. Grant Duff has given 1728. But he admits that he is not sure of it.

CHAPTER XLI

MARATHA CONQUEST OF MALWA AND GUZARAT

A. D. 1731 TO 1736

AT the close of the penultimate chapter I left Bajirao planning a campaign to punish Nizam-ul-Mulk for his conspiracy with Trimbakrao Dabhade. That wary old soldier could expect no help from Delhi and feared to face unaided the entire resources of the Maratha kingdom, led by Bajirao in person. He at once sent envoys to the Peshwa and in return for peace, offered to give him a free passage through his dominions into Malwa and pressed him rather to carry his arms to Delhi than to waste his energies against a mere viceroy like himself. This advice was eminently pleasing to the Peshwa and was similar to that which he had himself offered to his king. In August 1731 Bajirao and Nizam-ul-Mulk agreed to give each other a free hand. The Nizam should be at liberty to gratify his ambitions in the south, the Peshwa in the north. After the execution of the treaty, the latter made full preparation for the conquest of Central India. As previously related, the emperor had, on the rebellion of Nizam-ul-Mulk, conferred the government of Malwa on a certain Raja Giridhar. He was a man not only of great parts and courage, but also a scion of a distinguished house. His family were Nagar Brahmans of Allahabad. His father Dayaram and his uncle Chabilaram had been the personal attendants of Bahadur Shah's second son Azimushan during his long viceroyalty of Bengal. On Bahadur Shah's death in 1712 Dayaram fell fighting for Azimushan. After the latter's defeat and death, Chabilaram attached himself to

Jahandar Shah and was appointed military governor of Manikpur. He took on his staff Dayaram's son Raja Giridhar. On Farukhsir's rebellion Chabilaram and Raja Giridhar, as old servants of his father Azimushan, deserted to the pretender and gave him valuable help both in soldiers and money. Chabilaram distinguished himself greatly at the battle of Agra and was made viceroy of that province and afterwards of Allahabad. On the fall of Farukhsir the Sayads flung Raja Giridhar into prison. He escaped and joined Chabilaram at Allahabad. There Chabilaram died. But Raja Giridhar managed to outwit the Sayads by corrupting the officers sent against him and on the rebellion of Nizam-ul-Mulk was raised to the government of Malwa. In the absence of the Nizam, Raja Giridhar was for a time complete master of the province. He easily overcame local disaffection; but in the end he was unable to make head against the Marathas. As far back as 1698 Udaji Powar had raided Malwa and camped at Mandu. But it was not until the Rajput chiefs disgusted at Aurangzib's treatment, invited the Marathas to free them from the Moghuls, that the Marathas gained a permanent footing in the province. The chief leader in this movement was Savai Jaysing, the Maharaja of Jaypur. An even more valuable ally they found in one Nandalal Mandloi Chaudhari. His family were chaudharis, village servants similar to chaugulas, in the town of Indore. It was their special duty to guard the fords across the Narbada river. Nandalal Chaudhari entered into a correspondence with the Peshwa and between 1723 and 1724 Malharrao Holkar was through his help first able to camp at Indore, while Udaji Powar conquered the town and province of Dhar. Pilaji Gaikwad next began to make incursions from the side of Guzarat and Chimnaji Appa also plundered the stricken province. In vain Raja Giridhar appealed for help to Delhi. By 1729 his force had dwindled almost to nothing and Chimnaji Appa and Udaji Powar combined to destroy it. Raja Giridhar was

encamped fifty miles to the north-east of Dewas at the village of Sarangpur. By a forced march Chimnaji Appa and Udaji Powar contrived to surprise and kill him. On the death of Raja Giridhar the emperor at once appointed his cousin Daya Bahadur to the viceroyalty of Malwa. On 12th October 1731 he met the fate which had overtaken his kinsman. On his arrival in Malwa he tried to restore order by instituting a reign of terror. At the same time he implored the vazir Khan Dauran to send him a few troops, promising him that so long as he lived, a wall stood between the Marathas and the capital. On his fall they would overwhelm the empire. In spite of this prophetic truth, Khan Dauran sent him no more troops than he had sent Raja Giridhar. On the other hand the oppressed nobles of Malwa implored the help of Savai Jaysing of Jaypur. The latter was unwilling to declare himself openly against the emperor of Delhi. He invited the nobles of Central India to apply for help to Bajirao. Bajirao referred them to Malharrao Holkar. At the same time Nandalal Chaudhari undertook to guide Holkar across the fords of the Narbada. Late in September 1731, Holkar with twelve thousand men crossed the great river near the village of Akbarpur and invaded Malwa. Nothing daunted, Daya Bahadur hastened to block Holkar's further progress by holding a pass known as the Tanda Ghat. But Nandalal's spies informed Holkar of Daya Bahadur's movements and he led Malharrao Holkar through another track, known as the Bhairav pass. Daya Bahadur hastened after his mobile enemy. This time Holkar no longer fled. Wheeling back, he met Daya Bahadur at the village of Thal, near Dhar, and destroyed his army. Daya Bahadur fell on the battlefield.

Daya Bahadur's successor was a Rohilla Afghan named Mahomed Khan Bangash. He was a gallant soldier, whose bravery had earned him the title of Ghazenfer Jang or the Lion in battle. But in every quality except courage he seems to have been lacking. When he received the

viceroyalty of Malwa, he was governor of Allahabad. He collected a large force of his own clansmen and obtained a train of artillery by stripping his fortresses. With these in 1733 A. D. he entered Central India. Instead, however, of trying to rouse the Rajput clans to join him against the common Maratha peril, he acted as if he were in an enemy's country and by his conduct speedily made it so. He first occupied Bundelkhand, the land of the Bundela Rajputs, and drove out of it one of its lawful and most powerful princes, the Raja Chatrasal. He invaded his capital and seized his strongholds. Chatrasal knowing that he could get no redress from the emperor sent in the form of a stanza a message to Bajirao begging him to save him from his enemy just as Vishnu had saved Gajendra.* The story to which the Raja alluded is whimsical even among Hindu tales. According to that story it so happened that about the same time, but at widely different places, a king named Indradyumna and a *gandharva* or immortal singer of Indra's court named Huuhu were by the curses of *rishis* turned, the one into an elephant, the other into a crocodile. The *rishi* who cursed Indradyumna so far relented as to promise him that he would regain his human shape at such time as the god Vishnu would save him from the jaws of a crocodile. Indradyumna spent many years in the guise of an elephant and so great was his prowess that he became the king of a wild herd and took

*The Peshwa Bakhar gives the stanza as follows:

"Tich gati zali gajendrachi
Tich aj amchi sachi
Baji jate Bundelachi
Rakhi Bajiraiya".

But the real words are given in Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis Marathyanche Parakram, p 65.

"Jo gat Grahgajendraki so gat bhai he aj
Baji jat Bundelanki rakho Baji laj"
(What befell Gajendra has come to pass now
The Bundela's honour is being lost
Save him O Bajirao.)

the title of Gajendra or Indra among elephants. One day when Gajendra was bathing in a pool, the *gandharva* Huuhu, now a crocodile, seized him by the leg and for all his strength would have dragged him in and drowned him, had Vishnu not heard his agonizing prayers. Leaving his heaven Vaikunth, the god, hastened to Gajendra's help and with his divine discus shore the crocodile in two. Touched by the discus, Huuhu once more became a *gandharva*. Gajendra freed from Huuhu's grip became once more a human being and, as such, was taken by the kindly god to his heavenly kingdom.

Bajirao's help to Chatrasal was not less effective than that of Vishnu. Mahomed Bangash was resting from his labours during the rainy season and so satisfied was he with his easy successes, that he sent back to their own country his Rohilla levies, retaining round his person only a small bodyguard. While he thus lived in a fool's paradise, Bajirao was approaching at the head of an allied army of Marathas and Bundelas. The Bundelas led Bajirao safely through the forests and mountains of that wild country, and came upon Mahomed Bangash before he could recall his Rohillas. With his tiny force he boldly met the enemy in the field and suffered a complete defeat. With a few survivors he escaped through the jungles to the fort of Jetpur, or the town of conquest. The allies at first lost touch with him but afterwards besieged him and reduced him to the greatest distress. From this intolerable situation he was saved by the energy of his wife and of his son Kaim Khan. They first threw themselves in vain at the foot of the throne and asked for reinforcements from the first minister. The wife then sent round her veil among the Rohilla nobles and Kaim Khan harangued them with the eloquence of despair. The joint appeal to their honour and emotions was irresistible. Every adult in the clan vowed to rescue their chief or die in the attempt. By forced marches they followed Kaim Khan to Jetpur, and falling in a mass on the investing troops forced their

way into the fort and carried back their clansman to the safety of Rohilkhand. The emperor, although slow to help, was quick to censure and at once dismissed Mahomed Khan Bangash not only from the viceroyalty of Malwa, but also from the governorship of Allahabad*.

Although the allies failed to take Mahomed Khan Bangash, his flight definitely rid the Bundelas of their enemy. Raja Chatrasal was so grateful that he adopted Bajirao as his son and by his will divided his kingdom between Bajirao and his real offspring†. As the Raja died soon after this campaign, Bajirao obtained the ownership of one-third of Bundelkhand, including the provinces of Sagar and Kalpi. From this vantage point he was able soon to dominate all Central India.

Although the emperor and Khan Dauran had refused all support to Sarbuland Khan, the viceroy of Guzarat, they were both indignant at his cession to Bajirao of the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* and at once relieved him of his office. To it was appointed Abhai Sing, son of Ajit Sing and Maharaja of Jodhpur. Sarbuland who was conscious of no fault, attacked and defeated his successor. His honour satisfied, he made his way unattended to the Maharaja's camp, trusting to Rajput chivalry to leave it without harm. Nor was his trust misplaced. Abhai Sing rose and embraced his visitor. Learning from Sarbuland Khan that he had merely fought the action to vindicate his honour, and that he wished to retire from Guzarat, he took from the Musulman's head his plain cloth turban and put on it his own headgear blazing with jewels. Then with every honour and a fitting escort he sent him on his way to Delhi (A. D. 1734). There the emperor at first refused to receive him, but at length appointed him, in place of Mahomed Khan Bangash, governor of Allahabad.

---

* Siyar-ul-Muta Kherin. There is a dispute about the date of this incident. Mr. Sardesai gives the date as 1729. But I have preferred to follow the Musulman historian. But see W. Irvine's History of Nawabs of Farrukabad.

† See Appendix A to this chapter.

On the departure of Sarbuland Khan, Abhai Sing applied himself to the arduous task of driving the Marathas from Guzarat. Nor was the opportunity unfavourable. The Peshwa was away in command of the army of Malwa. Chimnaji Appa, his brother, was watching the family interests at court. There remained only Pilaji Gaikvad. His reputation had suffered since the defeat of Dabhai. Nevertheless he had established himself in Baroda and several other large towns. Abhai Sing sent a large force under a Rajput subordinate to retake Baroda. The recapture of Baroda, however, was Abhai Sing's only success. Pilaji Gaikvad was personally popular with the hillmen of Guzarat and with their aid won several fights against Abhai Sing's Rajputs. In his anger, the Maharaja was tempted to an act of treachery most uncommon among Rajput princes. He decided to assassinate Pilaji during a pretended negotiation. The spot chosen for the crime was Dakore, a place deemed holy by the worshippers of Krishna. In beautiful verse the Maratha poet Mahipati* relates that a Maratha saint named Ramdas, who lived at Dakore, used every year to perform a pilgrimage from that city to Dwarka in Kathiawar, the former capital of the divine Krishna and the chief seat of his worship. At last Ramdas grew so feeble that he resolved to make but one more pilgrimage and then bid the beloved idol of Dwarka good-bye for ever. When he reached Dwarka, Ramdas told the god his decision, and with many tears bade Krishna farewell. The deity, touched by his devotion, told him that if he would put the idol in the temple chariot, it would go with him to Dakore. Although the idol was a great mass of stone and Ramdas was weak with age, he lifted it without effort into the chariot and drove with it back to his own village. Next morning the priests missed both the image and the chariot, and guessed that Ramdas had stolen them. They followed him with all speed to Dakore. Ramdas tried to hide the idol in the village pond. But the priests dragged the pond

*Mahipati's Bhakti Vijaya.

and recovered the god. Before starting for Dwarka the priests went to eat their dinner, and Ramdas left alone with Krishna upbraided him for letting himself be taken. The god replied that if Ramdas would offer to buy the image for its weight in gold, the priests would let him keep it. Ramdas replied that he had no gold save a single nosering in his wife's nose. "Put the nosering in the scales," answered the god, "and I shall make it outweigh my image." Ramdas did as Krishna ordered and events happened as the god had foretold. The greedy priests consented to sell their image for its weight in gold. The villagers brought the village scales and at Ramdas' request stood near them so that, if need be, they could hold the priests to the bargain. In one scale was put the idol. In the other Ramdas, amid shouts of laughter, put his wife's nosering. But the laughter ceased when the scale with the massive image rose upwards and the scale with the tiny golden circle dropped to the ground. The priests would have gone back on their agreement, but the villagers drove them away and kept Krishna's idol. A new image of Krishna was set up at Dwarka. The old one is still to be seen at Dakore and is deemed doubly sacred both from its age and from the miracle performed by it to honour the Maratha saint.

Unhappily the sanctity of the spot neither hindered the assassin nor prolonged the victim's life. Several times Pilaji received the pretended envoys of the Maharaja but no chance occurred favourable to the assassins. One evening they deliberately prolonged the discussion until after dusk, then took leave and went outside the tent. Suddenly one of their number exclaimed that he had forgotten something. He entered the tent, put his mouth close to Pilaji's ear, as if to whisper to him some state secret, and with his dagger stabbed him to the heart (A. D. 1732). The murderer was instantly killed, but his companions escaped. Abhai Sing was soon to realise that he had been guilty not only of a crime but of a blunder.

The Kolis, Bhils, Waghris, and other wild tribes of Guzarat, enraged at the murder of Pilaji Gaikvad, rose everywhere against the viceroy. Pilaji's brother, Mahadji, marched from Jambusar on Baroda and took it by storm (1732 A. D.) and made it what it is still, namely, the Maratha capital of the province. Damaji Gaikvad, Pilaji's eldest son, advanced from Songadh and after reducing eastern Guzarat invaded Jodhpur itself and forced Abhai Sing to hasten to the defence of his hereditary dominions. Once back in Jodhpur, he gave himself up to intoxication and ceased to pay any attention to the affairs of his viceroyalty. The emperor relieved him of his post and appointed in his place Najib-ud-Dâulat. But Abhai Sing's deputy refused to surrender Ahmadabad and Najib-ud-Daulat called to his aid Damaji Gaikvad. The latter took the last stronghold of the Moghuls and occupied it with his troops. Guzarat was thus wholly lost to the empire (1735 A. D.).

Nor did Malwa fare better. On the flight of Mahomed Khan Bangash the emperor appointed as his successor Raja Savai Jai Sing of Jaipur (1734). But the Rajput chiefs no longer deemed it an honour to serve the Moghul. They now aspired to complete independence and fancied that they saw in the growth of the Maratha power, the best means to obtain it. After some desultory operations against Bajirao, the Raja of Jaipur pressed the emperor to appoint in his place the Peshwa as viceroy of Malwa. The emperor was unwilling to resign, without a further effort, one of his richest provinces. Distrustful with good reason, of the capacity of most of his officers, he thought that he saw in Muzaffir Khan, the brother of his Vazir Khan Dauran, the qualities of a skilful captain. With Muzaffir Khan the emperor sent his household troops and no less than twenty-two generals. These with their staffs made on the parade ground an appearance so splendid, that no Maratha troops, so Muzaffir Khan imagined, would dare to face them. Bajirao allowed the imposing array to advance unopposed through Central India as far as Sironj,

realising that the farther they advanced, the more difficult would be their retirement. At Sironj he attacked the imperial forces in the traditional Maratha manner, cutting off Muzaffir Khan's supplies and rendering useless his cavalry by false attacks and innumerable raids. At last Muzaffir Khan was obliged to appeal to his brother for help. For a time he received nothing but long Persian despatches* full of brilliant couplets and witty abuse of the Nizam and the Marathas. Realising at last that Muzaffir Khan needed help more substantial, Khan Dauran sent what remained of the Delhi troops and with great difficulty succeeded in rescuing his brother and his beleaguered army. Khan Dauran now decided to take the field in person. After wasting several weeks in the neighbourhood of Delhi, he reported that the Marathas were nowhere to be seen. At the same time, however, the emperor learnt from the plunder of some towns, only two hundred miles from Delhi, that they had by no means returned to the Deccan. At last both the emperor and his minister thought that it would be better to give up Malwa and Guzarat, if by so doing they could save the northern provinces. But Bajirao in the full tide of success, would not sell peace, save at a price that even the trembling emperor hesitated to give. He no longer demanded the mere governorship of Malwa. He demanded the alienation of the whole province together with Allahabad, Benares, Gaya, and Mathura. In addition he asked for an immediate payment of fifty lakhs or an assignment to that amount on Bengal, as well as an hereditary grant of five per cent of the Deccan revenues. In other words he asked for nearly all that remained to the emperor of Hindustan together with a ground for constant interference in the governments of Bengal and the Deccan. The emperor would only agree to the grant of five per cent on the revenues of the Deccan. The Nizam had long ceased to pay him anything and nothing would have pleased him

*Siyar-ul-Muta Kherin.

more than a quarrel between the rebel viceroy and the Maratha leader. Negotiations were broken off and hostilities again began. To reinforce his army, the emperor withdrew his troops from the north-western passes. Mahomed Khan Bangash was also ordered to attend with his Rohillas. Khan Dauran took command but, as before, he moved his army backwards and forwards in such parts of the country as he knew to be free from Maratha horse. Bajirao who regarded the imperial commander with just contempt, moved in every direction, as if no army opposed him. He levied a large contribution from the Raja of Bhadavar, while Malharrao Holkar with a great body of horse crossed the Jamna and sacked the towns of Akbarabad and Sayadabad. In the imperial army there were neither courage nor capacity, but Sadat Khan, the governor of Oudh, had still some enterprise left. In March 1737 he surprised Malharrao Holkar and inflicted on him a severe reverse.* Holkar fled across the Jamna, losing a number of men in the crossing. With the remains of his army he rejoined Bajirao. Sadat Khan wrote to Delhi so exaggerated an account of his success, that the emperor and his advisers thought that all danger had passed and that the few Marathas who had escaped from Sadat Khan's sword were fleeing in all haste to the Deccan. When this absurd story reached Bajirao, he observed grimly "I shall prove to the emperor that he has not heard the truth, by showing him Maratha horse and burning villages at the gates of Delhi"†.

Sadat Khan had by this time joined Khan Dauran and seems to have become infected by that commander's insolence. The two generals camped on the Ajmir road, some sixty miles from Delhi. Instead of pursuing the recent success, they spent several days in celebrating it by banquets and supper parties. While they were still commemorating Sadat Khan's victory, Bajirao marching at

*Siyar-ul-Muta Kherin.

†See Appendix B. Bajirao's letter to Chimnaji Appa.

MASTANI

[*To face page* 222]

great speed got between the Moghul army and Delhi and began to plunder the capital. He pitched his camp at Tuglakabad, the city of Ghazi-ud-din-Tughlak, of which the giant walls still overawe the casual spectator. On account of some local festival in Bhavani's honour, Tughlakabad happened to be full of pilgrims and pleasure seekers and pious persons, both Hindus and Musulmans, from Delhi. These the Marathas, regardless of their victims' piety, robbed of all they had. Bajirao then moved his camp to the Kutub Minar, where the column erected by the emperor Kutb-ud-din looked down with dismay on the presumption of the infidels. After plundering the town wherein dwelt once the Afghan emperors, he then moved nearer Delhi and camped in the south-western suburbs, where a viceregal palace, more splendid than any of its imperial forerunners, is now rising into towers. The fugitives of the sacked towns rushed into Delhi and filled the capital with their clamours. The emperor ordered one Amir Khan to march against the Marathas with every soldier in the city. Bajirao sent out a few horsemen to meet Amir Khan and concealed his main army. This common Maratha artifice tempted one of Amir Khan's generals, a Sayad named Mir Hussein Khan, to charge out into the open plain. Directly Mir Hussein Khan and his men were beyond the range of the cannon on the Delhi walls, the Maratha horse under Malharrao Holkar and Ranoji Sindia wheeled round, killed, and wounded six hundred imperialists, including Mir Hussein Khan, and drove the rest back into the city*.

It was, however, impossible that Bajirao should remain where he was. Messengers had at once been sent to Sadat Khan and Khan Dauran. Immediately after his defeat of Mir Hussein Khan, the Peshwa learnt that the two generals were hastening back to join Amir Khan with the main Moghul army. Unwilling to risk a pitched battle so far from his base and with Nizam-ul-Mulk on his line of

* Siyar-ul-Muta Kherin.

communications, Bajirao decided to accept the imperial offer of the viceroyalty of Malwa †. Sacking as he went the towns of Rivadi and Basoda (1736 A. D.) he retreated into Central India and thence into the Deccan.

† Grant Duff mentions also a promise to pay thirteen lakhs. I have not been able to find any authority for this, although it is very likely correct.

APPENDIX A

An admirable account of the Marathas in Bandelkhand will be found in Rao Bahadur Parasnis' work Marathyanche Parakram 81.

By the terms of Chatrasal's will his eldest son Hirdesa received territory yielding a revenue of 42 lakhs. Within his portion were Panna, Kalinjar, Mhow, Irich and Dhamoni. Chatrasal's second son Jagatraj received country yielding 36 lakhs. Within his borders fell Jetpur, Ajayagad, Charkari Banda and Bijawar.

To the Peshwa were bequeathed lands that yielded 33 lakhs. Within his borders fall Kalpi, Sagar, Jhansi, Sironj and Hardenagar.

The will contained the following three clauses:—

1. With the exception of expeditions beyond the Jamna or the Chambal, both brothers (*i. e.* Hirdesa and Jagatraj) should join Bajirao Sahib in every campaign and should share in the plunder and conquered lands in proportion to the troops provided by them.
2. If Bajirao should be involved in Deccan warfare, the two brothers should defend for at least two months the frontiers of Bandelkhand.
3. King Chatrasal has looked on Bajirao Sahib as his son. Bajirao Sahib must therefore guard his (Chatrasal's sons), as if they were his blood brothers.

Bajirao put in charge of his Bandelkhand estate Govind Ballal Kher, a Karhad Brahman. He was the son of Narsipantbaba Kher, the kulkarni of Burmad in Ratnagiri. He was adopted into the family of Balaji Govind Kher, the kulkarni of the neighbouring village of Nevaren. On his adoptive father's death, he was robbed by his adopted relations and forced to take refuge with his natural family. Afterwards he obtained the office of Shagird or personal attendant in the Peshwa Bajirao's service. Once when Bajirao was unable to obtain firewood, Govindpant Kher took some from the funeral pyre of a corpse and served his master an excellent dinner. Struck with his servant's resource, the Peshwa promoted him to a military command. In it he did so well that his further advancement was assured.

In 1733 Bajirao appointed him as his agent and afterwards as governor of his possessions. He assumed the name of Govindpant Bandela. As we shall see hereafter, Govindpant fell on the field of honour shortly before Panipat.

APPENDIX B

Translation of a letter sent by Bajirao to his brother Chimaji Appa, sent from Jaypur bearing the date of 5th April 1737. It first appeared in R. B. Parasnis' Life of Brahmendraswami.

CAMP SAWAI JAYANAGAR (JAYPUR),
8th of the dark half of
Vaishakh moon, 15th Jilhej.

To Appa. After compliments. You must have already learnt from our letters sent with Kasis (special couriers) in which I have given in detail the news of our having left in Bundelkhand all our followers in charge of Prince Jagatraj and of the action with Sadat Khan. Sadat Khan crossed the Jamna and arrived at Agra. If we were to meet him there we were not sure of defeating him owing to his advantageous position there. If we were to wait at the confluence of the Jamna and the Gambhir, that place was also unsafe owing to landslips and erosions. Besides Khan Dauran and Mahomed Khan Bangash were on their way to Agra from Delhi, and in case they and Sadat Khan happened to join, it would have been a serious affair. So it was not thought proper to encamp at the confluence. Further, Sadat Khan wrote to the Emperor and his courtiers that he had routed the Maratha Army that had crossed the Jamna, killing two thousand cavalry and drowning two thousand in the river; that Malharji Holkar and Vithoba Bule had fallen in the action. Such had been the result of Bajirao's invasion! He further vauntingly wrote that he would cross the Jamna and defeat the Marathas and drive them away beyond the Chambal. The emperor expressed great satisfaction at this and sent to Sadat Khan a dress of honour, a pearl necklace, an elephant and an aigrette. Clothes of honour were also presented to Sadat Khan's agent at the Delhi court. Thus Sadat Khan strengthened his and his party's influence with the emperor. He also wrote to several nobles in contemptuous terms about Marathas. Dhondo Govind (Peshwa's agent at Delhi) kept us informed of all these particulars from time to time. In short, Sadat Khan tried to impress the Moghul court that the Maratha army had neither spirit nor energy and that he had completely defeated it. You are already aware how things pass in Moghul politics. No action and high talk is their motto. The emperor fully believes all this but he must now be disillusioned. This could be done in two ways—either to inflict a crushing defeat on Sadat Khan or to march on Delhi and to set fire to the capital, and thus disprove Sadat Khan's boastful statements. We accordingly decided to march against Delhi as Sadat Khan would not leave Agra, and setting fire to the capital bring to the notice of the emperor the existence of the Marathas. With

this determination we started for Delhi on the 26th Jilkad (18th March 1737), Leaving aside the imperial route we followed the hilly tract along the Newati frontier through the territory of Daman Sing, Chudaman Jat. Dhondopant our Vakil was with Khan Dauran. Sadat Khan sent a word to Khan Dauran:—"I have defeated Bajirao's army. His followers have fled away and Bajirao himself has crossed the Chambal. Now why do you flatter him and with what object? Why should you entertain his Vakil at your court? He must be now dismissed." Dhondopant was accordingly sent away. He then came to us. Kamruddin Khan, Azmulla Khan and others encountered us, but we did not meet them. Leaving them 14 miles off to our right, we arrived at Delhi on the 7th Jilhej (28th March) after forced marches of 40 miles each. We pitched our camp near Kushbandi (a suburb of Delhi) leaving Barapula and Kalika temple to our right. We wanted to burn the capital to ashes but on second thought we saw no good in destroying the mighty city and ruining the imperial throne at Delhi. Moreover the emperor and Khan Dauran desired to make peace with us, but the Moghuls would not agree to it. An act of outrage however breaks the thread of politics. We, therefore, gave up the idea of burning the capital and sent letters to the emperor and Raja Bakhatmal. Two elephants, some horses and camels coming out from the city were however captured by our advanced guard. Some of our soldiers had a scuffle with the people from Delhi who had gone out to attend the Bhawani fair. Next day, Wednesday, 30th March, Raja Bakhatmal sent a reply under commands of the emperor, asking us to send Dhondopant to the imperial court. We did not, however, despatch him as there was a great commotion in Delhi owing to our presence near the capital; but we sent a word in reply. "We are sending Dhondopant, please send a strong guard under a reliable officer to escort him. We are marching on to the Zil Tank as our presence near the city is likely to disturb its peace." And we moved on. As we were passing the capital a force consisting of 7 to 8 thousand men was sent by the emperor under Nawab Mir Hasan Khan Koka, commander of the Khas Chowki, Nawab Amir Khan, Khoja Roz Afzul Khan, Raja Shivsingh Jamadar, Commander of the Cavalry, Muzfur Khan, Deputy-General, Nawab Muzfur Khan, brother of Khan Dauran, who met us near Rikabgunj outside the city. Satwaji Jadhav who commanded the advance guard met the Moghul forces and a fight took place between them. On hearing this we sent forces to help him under Malharji Holkar, Ranoji Shinde, Tukoji Pawar, Jiwaji Pawar, Yeshwantrao Pawar, Manaji Payagude and Govind Hari. They gallantly fought with the Moghuls and completely defeated them. Raja Shivsingh and ten other noblemen were killed; Nawab Mir Hasan Koka was wounded and about three hundred soldiers from the emperor's army were killed and four hundred wounded. Roz Afzul Khan, Amir Khan, Muzfur Khan fled to the capital. We captured two thousand horses though five or six thousand fled away. Indroji Kadam from Ranoji Shinde's cavalry received a bullet wound by which two of his fingers were cut off. No other person of note on our side was killed but some men and horses were wounded. We then encamped at the Zil Tank. About two hours before sunset news came that Kamruddin Khan had arrived from Padashahpur. We at

once started to meet him. A fight took place. Yeshwantrao Pawar captured an elephant that was within a gun-shot from the Moghul artillery. A number of horses and camels came to our camp when it was sunset. We wanted to besiege the Moghul army from all sides and give them a crushing defeat next day. But we could not do so as there were several difficulties in our way, the Zil Tank was about 32 miles off from us, Kamruddin Khan was to our right and in our front was the capital. Besides this, the news of our march on Delhi reached Nawab Khan Dauran, Sadat Khan, and Mahomed Khan Bangash on Tuesday the 7th of Jilhej (28th March) at Radhakund. They left behind their heavy baggage and immediately proceeded to Badel about 64 miles distant with an army of about twenty-five to thirty thousand strong. Next day they halted on the rivulet of Alawardi about 50 miles off. On Thursday morning Khan Dauran, Sadat Khan and Bangash were to join Kamruddin Khan. The situation then would have been perilous, as the capital was near. We, therefore, delt the Moghuls and halted at a distance of 8 miles. On our side Firangoji Patankar was killed by a bullet. A few men and some horses were also wounded. The Moghul casualties amounted to from 5 to 10. On Thursday Sadat Khan, Khan Dauran, and Bangash joined Kamruddin Khan. Their camps were spread from Alawardi to the Zil Tank. We designed to draw the Moghuls on us and then to fall back and defeat them. With this object we broke the camp and moved on via Revad, Kotputali, and Manoharpur. The news has come that the Moghuls have not as yet left their camps between Alawardi and Zil Tank and that Mir Hasan Khan Koka who was wounded in the first action has died. Khan Dauran wrote letters after letters to Sawai Jaising to send reinforcement. He has accordingly started with a force of fifteen to sixteen thousand men and artillery and has arrived at Basava. He intends visiting Khan Dauran. Sawaiji has also sent us friendly letters, requesting us to leave his territory undisturbed. Our agent, Venkaji Ram, is in his camp. He writes these letters to us. We do not disturb his territory, as we expect to get supplies of grain and fodder from Sawaiji on our way. Abhayasing is at Jodhpur. Now we are going to collect our dues from the Gwalior and Bhadavar Provinces. If the Moghuls still pursue us, we shall harass them and reduce them by driving them by force from place to place and utterly crush them by the grace of our king (Raja Shahu) and the blessings of our ancestors. Be not anxious on our account. The chief thing to be noted is that the emperor and Khan Dauran wish to make peace with us while the Moghuls are striving to defeat us, and Sadat Khan is at their head. If by the favour of God his vanity is subdued, everything will be to our satisfaction. If the terms of peace are favourable we shall accept them. Otherwise we shall not conclude any peace. We have annexed the territory about Delhi. The territory about Sonpat and Panpat beyond the Jamna still remains with the Moghuls. We shall plunder and capture it soon and see that the Moghuls will be starved. We shall write to you later on what happens here. If perchance the Moghuls remain in possession of Delhi we shall go to Agra and enter into Antarved (districts between the Ganges and Jamna) and ravage the whole territory. If Nizam-ul-Mulk rises and crosses the Narbada, fall upon his

rear and harass him as previously advised. On this side none is to be afraid of. Let there be none whom we need fear. It will be better if the Nizam is held in check. I close this with my blessings to you. Continue to love me as ever.* .

(Parasnis' Collection.)

---

* Grant Duff must have seen this letter. He has paraphrased part of it when he writes, "I was resolved," said Bajirao, "to tell the emperor the truth to prove that I was still in Hindustan and to show him flames and Mahrathas at the gates of his capital."

CHAPTER XLII

THE WAR AGAINST NIZAM-UL-MULK AND NADIR SHAH'S INVASION

A. D. 1737 AND 1738

NIZAM-UL-MULK had been watching with concern the extraordinary progress of the Maratha arms. The stern old soldier feared that the emperor, who had never forgiven his desertion, might well confer on Bajirao the government of the Deccan. The Nizam would then have to defend his province against the united onslaught of the Marathas and the imperial army. He had, during Bajirao's recent campaign, adopted so threatening an attitude that Bajirao had written to his brother Chimnaji Appa, ordering him to watch with a large force ths Nizam's movements. "If he attempts," wrote the anxious Peshwa, "to cross the Narbada, fall instantly on his rear and put heelropes on him*." The threat of an attack from Chimnaji's army kept the Nizam within his own borders. But after Bajirao's retreat he let the emperor know that he was again willing to serve and to defend, so far as lay in his power, the Moghul throne. Danger had softened Mahomed Shah's hatred of Nizam-ul-Mulk and he sent to the viceroy several flattering messages and an imperial, decree by which he raised the Nizam to the command of eight thousand horse and graciously invited him to return to court. On the 22nd June 1737 the veteran statesman appeared at Delhi.

The emperor and his courtiers vied with each other in their deference to the pardoned rebel; and in spite of his

*Grant Duff. The great historian must have seen the letter given in the appendix to the last chapter. The phrase occurs there.

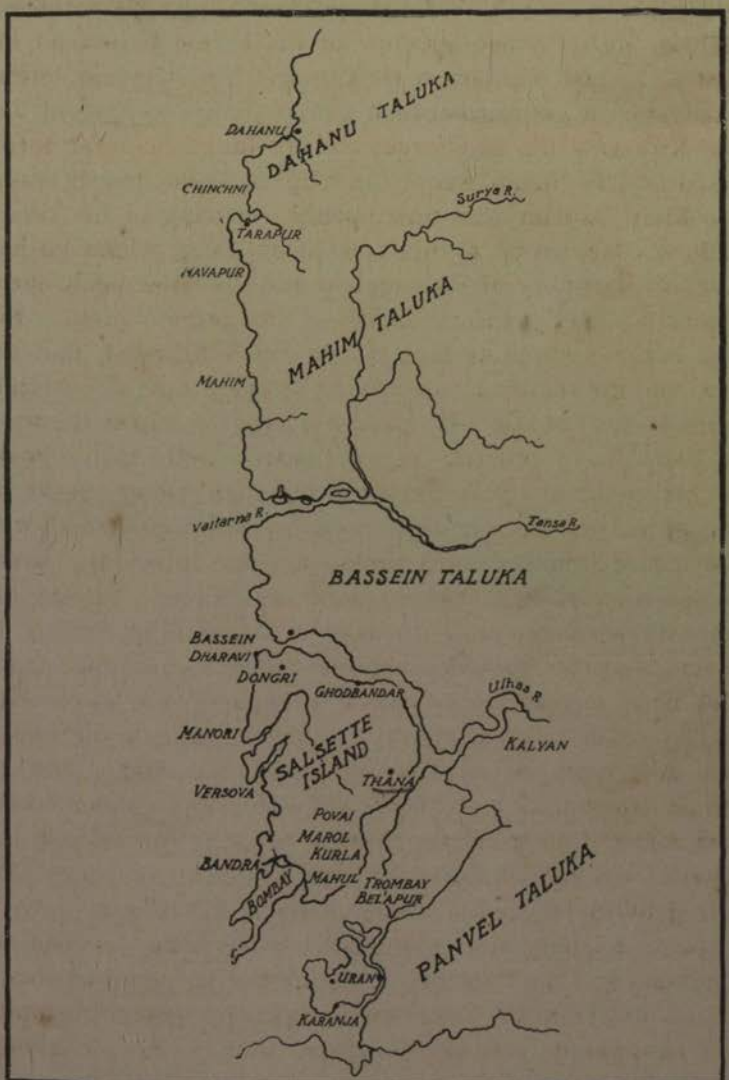
recent gift to Bajirao of the government of Malwa, he gave both it and the viceroyalty of Guzarat to the Nizam's eldest son Ghazi-ud-din and placed at the Nizam's disposal all the remaining resources of the empire. But so low had these resources fallen that only thirty-four thousand men could be gathered to his banner. To remedy his lack of troops the Nizam sent for his entire train of artillery. At the head of his new army he crossed the Jamna at Allahabad and against Kalpi. He entered Bandelkhand and after seizing the persons of Raja Chatrasal's sons he marched southwards. With him were the Raja of Kotha, one of the few Rajput chiefs who still adhered to the Moghul cause, and Safdar Jang, the nephew of Sadat Khan and ancestor of the kings of Oudh. He is still recalled to English tourists by the beautiful mausoleum built by himself on the road between modern Delhi and the Kutb Minar. Bajirao hastened to meet him and with no less than eighty thousand men came up with him at Bhopal. This city, now the capital of one of the most famous princesses in the world, the Begam of Bhopal, was once surrounded by a sheet of water so large, that those who saw it exclaimed that in the world it only was entitled to the name of lake* All other so-called lakes were but ponds. Scattered through this inland sea were islands extensive enough to bear whole villages, while on its shores rose innumerable temples that daily resounded with the chants of Buddhist saints of both sexes. The Musulman invaders in their fanaticism destroyed the lake and converted its bed into an endless succession of wheat fields, rice-fields and pastures. A pool, hardly two miles long, survived the ruin and with it to guard his rear and a river to guard his front the Nizam awaited Bajirao's onset. He should have moved out to meet the Marathas, but he doubtless lacked confidence in the imperial troops, who had so often fled before their present enemy. He stayed in his camp and soon found himself besieged, as he had been on the Godavari. His

*Tal to Bhopal Talaur sub Taliya.

guns again saved him. Whenever the Marathas charged home, his massed batteries swept them away. Nevertheless, Bajirao foiled every attempt of the Nizam to extend his lines. At last Malharrao Holkar and Yashwantrao Pawar succeeded in getting between Safdar Jang's contingent and the Nizam's camp and forced Safdar Jang to retreat northwards. The Nizam wrote for help to Delhi, but in vain; for Khan Dauran was now openly rejoicing in his rival's failure. He wrote to his son Nasir Jang, whom he had left as his deputy at Haidarabad and the latter made every effort to send reinforcements to his father's help. But the Nizam's supplies had become so straitened, that the old soldier resolved to wait no longer, but to extricate himself at any cost. He piled his baggage within the walls of Bhopal and tried to retire towards Delhi under cover of his cannon. The Marathas strained every nerve to stop him, but his gunners stood by their guns and with storms of cannon shot broke up and dispersed every hostile formation. Nevertheless the Nizam's retreat did not exceed three miles a day. On reaching Seronj, he learnt that the Persian king Nadir Shah had invaded India. The news seemed to the Nizam so serious that he resolved to buy off Bajirao at almost any price. The latter had at one time been so sure of capturing the Nizam and his whole army, that he had refused all offers; but his troops had suffered so from the Nizam's cannon, that he also had become willing to negotiate. On the 11th February 1738 the generals signed a treaty. By it the Nizam gave to Bajirao not only Malwa, but all the territory between the Chambal and the Narbada.* He further promised to obtain, if he could, from the emperor fifty lakhs by way of indemnity. He obstinately refused, however, to pay any indemnity himself.

Having bought off the Marathas by this humiliating convention, the Nizam marched to Delhi to help the emperor

*The Nizam really assigned to Bajirao the province of Malwa with its borders largely extended.



MAP SHEWING SALSETTE ISLAND AND OTHER PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS

against his new and even more terrible enemy. The origin of Nadir Shah, king of Persia, was of the humblest. In the reign of Shah Hussein, the last Shah of the Safavi dynasty, the Ghilzai Afghans had invaded Persia, taken Herat and captured the Shah himself inside the town of Isfahan. His son Tamasp escaped and fled to the shores of the Caspian. There he called in the aid of one Nadir Kuli, a freebooter, who had carried on unremitting warfare against the Afghan conquerors. The alliance of the freebooter and the heir to the crown proved irresistible. The Ghilzais were driven from their conquests and their king killed. Not only was Persia liberated, but Kandahar was in its turn taken by the Persians. A quarrel, however, occurred between Tamasp and Nadir Kuli, with the result that Tamasp was deposed by his troops and the freebooter crowned Shah in his place. Nadir Shah's victories brought the Persian monarchy to the borders of the Moghul empire, which at the time included Kabul. The necessities of the Maratha war had forced Mahomed Shah to withdraw most of his troops from his northern frontier and his minister Khan Dauran had misappropriated the pay of those who remained. Nadir Shah, on the pretext that the Indian government had refused to surrender some Ghilzai fugitives, advanced on Kabul, which he took with little difficulty from the starving and mutinous garrison. He crossed the Indus at Attock and entered Lahore. On the 15th January 1739 the distracted emperor ordered Nizam-ul-Mulk to join him and advanced on Karnal in the southern Panjab. Nadir Shah skilfully eluded the Moghul outposts and surprised the Oudh troops under Sadat Khan. Khan Dauran hastened to the latter's assistance but fell in action. The rest of the imperial soldiery were driven into their fortified camp and starved into submission. Mahomed Shah sent Nizam-ul-Mulk to open negotiations. The Nizam induced Nadir Shah to promise to retire on payment of an indemnity of two crores of rupees (£ 2,000,000). But Sadat Khan's jealousy frustrated the Nizam's efforts as an

envoy. Sadat Khan told the Persian king that if he marched to the capital, he could easily extort a ransom a hundred times greater; and Nadir Shah insisted upon escorting the unfortunate Mahomed Shah back to Delhi (February 1739). On the day after their entry into the imperial city, a rumour spread that Nadir Shah was dead. Instantly the mob rose upon his troops. All night the Shah strove to restore order, but in the morning he lost his self-control and called in his entire army to massacre the citizens. According to the popular legend often illustrated by Indian artists, Nadir Shah seated himself in the mosque of Rukn-ud-Daulat in the great bazaar and drawing his sword bade his men not to cease from slaughter until he had replaced it in its scabbard. For several hours he thus sat gloomy and silent, while the helpless Indians were exposed to the savage fury of the northern barbarians. About midday the emperor and his nobles by continued tears and intercessions, induced the Shah to sheathe his sword and the carnage, such was the discipline of the Persian troops, instantly ceased. Having glutted his vengeance, Nadir Shah turned again to the question of the indemnity. He seized all the imperial treasures and jewels, including the celebrated peacock throne. He then seized the property of the nobles and bade his officers extort what they could from the common citizens. The order was eagerly obeyed. Every house, wherein imagination could picture wealth, was invaded and its owners brutally tortured. To use the graphic words of the Musulman historian*: "Before, it was a general massacre; but now the murder of individuals. In every chamber and house was heard the cry of affliction. Sleep and rest forsook the city." After fifty-eight days even Persian greed realised that the city contained nothing more of value and the Shah decided to return to Persia. Before he left, he married his son to a Moghul princess descended from Shah Jehan, placed a worthless crown on Mahomed

*Scott's Deccan, vol. II., p. 210.

Shah's head and sent a letter to Bajirao warning him to give due obedience to his imperial nominee*. He then departed, leaving Delhi in ashes and the Moghul empire a ruin.

*Nadir Shah's letter is given in the Appendix to this chapter.

APPENDIX

Letter of Nadirshah to Bajirao Peshw

I begin with the name of God who is gracious and merciful

I begin with
the name of God.
A precious stone
of two religions had gone.
By the help of God he made him-
self known by the name of
Nadir, Iran.

Baji Rao possessing a charming face and being a man of good luck, a devotee towards Moslem faith, being a candidate for the royal favour, is informed that this time with the help of the Almighty Delhi is the capital and military place, and is the rising star of the great kingdom: as the great Nawab is, of the Turks. To Emperor Muhammad Shah whose greatness is like that of the heavens, who is the fulfiller of all hopes who is highly respected and noble, whose noble birth is from a Turkish mother, and whose forefathers were of the Gurjanis tribe, the kingdom and crown of India is entrusted, treating him as brother of the same religious profession and as a son; and as you having a sweet face, and being a leader of the brave tribe, who maintains himself, always by the wealth of the state. It is necessary for you to serve the emperor honestly and well, keeping in mind his rights. But up to now it is not reported that you are serving just as you ought, but done is done. As at the present juncture on account of the affection, perfect, noble and hearty friendship between our states having taken place, we understand as if Muhammad Shah's state given by God is connected with ours for putting down the rebels and the invaders of the said state of the Gurjanis, a brave and courageous person is necessary to be appointed. When, therefore, you will be informed of the contents of our noble command, Raja Shahu of great nobility, of good visage, well-experienced and obedient to the Musalman religion, has been appointed to that post, after this you would send news of your good health and safety remembering always that you are to be obedient to the royal order, which order should be received by Shahu for the performance of the services, heartily and without neglect and fail, he (Shahu) should try his best to act accordingly. By the help of God, every one far or near, if he be obedient to the state would be regarded as worthy of service and deserving of rewards and gifts, but whoever should try to rebel against the state, a victorious friend of religion is ready for war to defeat such an enemy and to suppress him and such a large army will be sent, that by going to the boundaries of the place of rebellion, necessary punishment will be inflicted upon them (rebels). In these matters you must be aware of good warning and act according to your position.

Dated 27th month of Mohurrum 1152.

*From the Parasnis Collection.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE CONQUEST OF THE KONKAN. WARS AGAINST THE SIDIS AND THE PORTUGUESE

A. D. 1733 TO 1739

AT this point I must return to the narrative of Maratha affairs within those provinces, which although inhabited by a Marathi speaking population, were yet under the dominion of foreigners. During Aurangzib's conquest of Maharashtra, the Sidis had given him valuable help both by land and sea. In return he had bestowed on them Mahad, Dabhol, Raygad and a number of other strong places along the Konkan coast. The Sidis' possession of Raygad was peculiarly offensive to the Maratha monarchs; for it was full of memories of the great king. It was at once the symbol of his sovereignty and the seat of his worship. These political considerations were aggravated by a personal quarrel between one of the Sidis, Sat Sidi by name, and one Brahmendraswami. The latter has by some of his admirers been compared with Ramdas and he certainly enjoyed during his life-time great consideration from the king and the eminent men who surrounded him. Brahmendraswami's father was Mahadev Bhat a Deshasth Brahman from Berar. His mother's name was Umabai. They had an only son whom they called Vishnu. When the boy was twelve years old, both his parents died. From his earliest years he had been devoted to the worship of the god Ganpati and he had the strange gift of passing every year into a religious trance from the first of Shravan (July) to the fourth of Bhadrapad (August) a period of thirty-four days. In 1663 Vishnu went to Benares. There

he became an ardent follower of the god Vishnu, his namesake; and he assumed the title of Brahmendraswami. After some years he left Benares and wandering from the Himalayas to Rameshwaram, visited every Indian shrine in turn. At last he came to Maharashtra and settled near Chiplun at Parashuram village, where at one time had stood a noble temple to Parasu Rama, the sixth incarnation of Vishnu. It had now fallen into ruins. Close by was a beautiful wood called the Dhamni wood. To it every Shravan, Brahmendraswami retired in order to pass into his trance or perform his religious meditations. His piety and his penances first attracted the notice of the neighbouring villagers and then spread far and wide. The saint had early been acquainted with Balaji Vishvanath and with remarkable foresight had prophesied his rise to the highest office. As Brahmendraswami's fame grew, he devoted himself to the collection of funds for the restoration of Parnsu Rama's temple. Nor were his persuasive powers exercised only on his coreligionists. The chief of the Sidis, Rasul Yakut Khan, so reverenced the saint, that he gave him the revenues of the villages of Ambdas and Pedhe and lent him the services of two clerks Bapujipant and Dhondopant Tambe. In the struggle between Shahu and Tarabi, Brahmendraswami had the wisdom to join the king and later to support the claims of Balaji Vishvanath to the post of first minister. The grateful Peshwa induced the king to bestow on him Dhawadshi, a village near Satara With its revenues and those of the villages given him by Sidi Rasul and of Davale and Mahling given him by Parashuram Trimbak, Brahmendraswami soon restored to its former splendour Parasu Rama's temple and laid down a gorgeous and elaborate ceremonial for the worship of the god. The saint's cordial relations with Sidi Rasul Yakut Khan were interrupted by an unfortunate misunderstanding. A certain Sidi, Sat Sidi by name, had by Rasul Yakut Khan been appointed governor of Anjanvel on the southern bank of the Dabhol creek. It so happened that Sat Sidi had

BALAJI BAJIRAO (Third Peshwa)

[*To face page* 238]

received from the Nawab of Savanur a gift of a remarkably fine elephant; but between Savanur and Anjanvel stretched the Maratha country. It was certain that in ordinary circumstances the elephant, if sent by the Nawab of Savanur, would never reach its destination. Sat Sidi implored the help of Brahmendraswami. It happened that the anchorite was about to start for the Carnatic to beg money for his temple. With great courtesy, he offered to bring back the Nawab's gift. On his return journey he took the beast with him and got it safely through the Vishalgad pass into the Konkan. Thinking that its dangers were over, he sent it on ahead. Beyond Sangameshwar, however, some of Kanhoji Angre's forest guards, learning that it belonged to one of the Sidis, captured it and sent it to Jaygad one of Angre's forts. Brahmendraswami was much distressed at the incident and wrote to Kanhoji Angre a strong letter of remonstrance. The latter was a disciple of the saint. He at once ordered the elephant's release and expressed deep regret for his subordinate's action. In the meantime Sat Sidi had heard of the animal's capture. He sent a force against Jaygad which Angre, who had not then received the letter of his spiritual guide, attacked and defeated with heavy loss. Sat Sidi became still more incensed and formed the belief that the capture of the elephant was part of a deep plot of Brahmendraswami. In February 1727 on Mahashivratra day, the god Shiva's festival, he made a sudden raid on the temple of Parasu Rama. He pulled it down stone by stone, plundered it of all its treasure and tortured such Brahman priests as he could catch, to make them point out any wealth that they had been able to hide. Conduct so ungrateful would have annoyed any one; and in the celestial mind of Brahmendraswami it aroused inextinguishable anger. He sent the elephant to Sat Sidi and with it a fearful curse: "You have wrought evil on the gods and the Brahmans," he wrote, "and similar evil may they wreak on you!" In vain Rasul Yakut Khan expressed his deep sorrow at the

outrage, made Sat Sidi restore his plunder, promised to rebuild the temple and offered as compensation the revenues of two more villages. In vain Kanhoji Angre begged the Swami to forgive and forget the past. In 1728 the infuriated anchorite shook from off his feet the dust of the Konkan and ascending the Ghats went to live in Dhavadshi. There he was cordially welcomed by Shahu, his queens, and the Maratha nobles. Until the end of his life he never ceased to preach a crusade against the Abyssinians and to urge on the king the disgrace of their presence on the shores of his kingdom.

The known friendship of Brahmendraswami for Balaji and Bajirao was sufficient to set in motion against any suggestion of his the intrigues of Shripatrao Pratinidhi and of the Deccan party. Kanhoji Angre, moreover, threw into the scale his powerful influence. For the previous ten years he had been friendly to the Sidis and had no wish to exchange their friendship for war. In 1729, however, Kanhoji Angre died and was succeeded in the office of High Admiral by his eldest son Sekhoji. From contemporary accounts the latter seems to have been a man of exceptional character and talents. He regarded with disfavour his father's kindly feelings for the sea-kings of Janjira. The Sidis, aware of his dislike for them, announced that their treaty with the Angres had been ended by Kanhoji's death and ravaged Sekhoji's territories. Another incident made Brahmendraswami's task the easier. In 1733 Sidi Rasul Yakut Khan died. He left a number of sons of whom the following Abdulla, Sambul, Ambar, Rahyan, Yakut and Hasan were the eldest. Although Abdulla was the first born, desire for their father's throne inspired against him the hatred of his brothers. Abdulla secretly sought help from the Maratha king. Shahu sent into the Konkan a Prabhu Sardar Yashwantrao Mahadev Potnis to foment the family quarrel. Potnis not only did this with success, but also corrupted a certain Sheikh Yakub Khan, a daring sailor who possessed the full

confidence of the sea-kings. He was of the lineage of the ancient Koli monarchs and was the hereditary patil or headman of Gohagad. Potnis offered to Sheikh Yakub Khan, as the prize of a successful revolution, the command of the fleet and an ample portion of the Sidis' lands. Last of all Abdulla's son, Abdul Rahman, who aspired to oust his father and uncles, fled from Janjira and openly asked Potnis for help. The Prabhu Sardar reported his success to Shahu, who at once summoned Bajirao to Satara. So excited was the king, that he began his order with the words "Do not read this letter. Mount your horse and then read it*" On the arrival of the first minister he and the king discussed the plan of campaign. Finally Shahu ordered that the Pratinidhi should take a force into the Konkan. Afterwards Bajirao and Fatehsing Bhosle would join him there. Owing to the slowness of the Pratinidhi, Bajirao and Fatehsing Bhosle were ready to start before him. In April 1733 they descended the Sahyadris. The Pratinidhi did not follow them until the end of May. Hearing that Sidi Masud was about to start for Janjira with help from Surat, Shahu wrote both to Umabai Dabhade and to Damaji Gaikvad and commanded them to seize Sidi Masud and prevent his sailing. Lastly the king sent two thousand Mavalis from his own bodyguard to assist his commanders in the capture of the Sidis' forts. So anxious, indeed, was Shahu to learn at the earliest the successes of his captains, that he had a line of runners posted between their camp and the capital. In this way he daily received their despatches.

But in spite of the ardour of the king, the royal forces achieved nothing commensurate with his hopes and preparations. Yashwantrao Dabhade and the Gaikvads refused to take any part in the campaign. From the first Bajirao shewed little interest in the expedition, which he thought a waste of time and money. The Pratinidhi sulked

*"Patra-na-vachanen. Ghodyavar basanen, mag patra vachanen" (Riyasat, vol. II., p. 271).

and refused to help Bajirao. At first the Marathas won some important successes. In May 1733 Bajirao repulsed an attack led by Sidi Rahyan, in which the leader and a hundred of his men fell. He also took the forts of Tala and Gossala and plundered Rajpuri, Nagothna and other towns of the Sidis. About the same time Manaji Angre, Sekhoji's younger brother, inflicted a severe defeat on the Sidis' fleet near Janjira. On the 8th June 1733 Bajirao retook Raygad amid the universal rejoicings of the Maratha people. The historic fortress, the capital of the great king, had been taken by Aurangzib in October 1689 and had for over forty-three years been in the possession of the Abyssinians. At the end of June, Sekhoji Angre took the fort of Raval on the Pen river and the fort of Thal close to Bombay. But these advantages were more or less nullified by the murder of Sidi Abdulla, on whose help the Marathas had counted in their final attack upon the island. Rid of their brother, the remaining Sidis defended themselves with stubborn courage and held in a firmer grip Anjanvel, Govalkot, Viziadurg and Janjira. The English, too, became alarmed at the near approach of the Marathas and were incensed by Sekhoji Angre's capture of an English ship called the *Rose,* which he held to ransom for 7603 rupees. The chief hope, however, of the Sidis lay in the jealousies of the Maratha captains. It was in vain that Shahu reprimanded his generals; it was in vain that Brahmendraswami refused to plunge into his annual religious trance. Still their bickerings continued. In August 1733 the Sidis amused the Pratinidhi with pretended offers of peace. At the same time they attacked and defeated a Maratha division under Bankaji Naik at Chiplun. They then broke off their negotiations with the Pratinidhi and inflicted on him two severe reverses. The unlucky commander appealed to Shahu, who ordered Chimnaji Appa to take him reinforcements. On various pleas Chimnaji Appa put off his obedience to the order, until the exasperated king wrote to him that, unless he started

at once, he, the king, would take over the command of his division. The English now resolved to give substantial help to the Sidis. They supplied Janjira with food, guns and munitions and sent under Captain Haldane on the warship *Mary* a force to help the Sidis defend their island fort of Underi, which Sekhoji Angre was besieging. In September 1733 Sekhoji Angre, the most single-minded and loyal of the Maratha captains died and Sambhaji Angre was raised to his dead brother's office of High Admiral. From this moment all hopes of taking Janjira vanished. Sambhaji Angre and his brother Manaji Angre were on bad terms and would not work together. Shahu fearing to give offence, would not appoint a single commander-in-chief, but sent separate orders to each divisional general and tried to conduct the campaign from his palace at Satara. Although Shahu had written to Chimnaji Appa that he was not to return to Satara without having taken Janjira, the king had reluctantly to bow to the inevitable. The alliance of the English with the Sidis had robbed the Marathas of the command of the sea. It was therefore better for the Marathas, so Bajirao advised, to secure their present advantages by a treaty with the sea-kings than drag on a useless war. In December 1733 the Sidis and Bajirao signed a treaty. The Sidis resigned to Abdul Rahman, as his share in his grandfather's kingdom, the revenues of eleven and a half mahals. The Marathas retained Raygad, Tala, Gossala and the other forts that they had stormed.

Brahmendraswami, as it may be imagined, was deeply disappointed at the treaty. He was not, however, to lose his revenge. His old enemy Sat Sidi was no less dissatisfied at the close of the war. Had it but continued, so he thought, it would have ended in an Abyssinian victory. In spite of the execution of the treaty, he continued to raid the territories ceded to the Marathas. Early in 1736 he brought his fleet to the port of Rewas and tried to take the fort of Sagargad. On the 10th March 1736 Shahu

despatched Chimnaji Appa to punish the aggression. On the 19th April a battle was fought at the village of Charai near Revas. In it the Sidi was defeated and slain. With him fell the commandant of Underi and eleven thousand men. Shahu was overjoyed and he wrote to Chimnaji Appa, "Sat Sidi was a demon no less terrible than Ravan; by killing him you have uprooted the Sidis. Everywhere your fame is spread abroad." Summoning to his court the young general, he showered on him presents and robes of honour. Brahmendraswami was equally lavish in his encomiums and until his death in 1745, he derived from his enemy's downfall a great and pious satisfaction*.

The Portuguese were an even more formidable enemy. In the ninth chapter of this work I have related their coming to India and their capture of the town of Goa. They soon established friendly relations with the kingdom of Vijayanagar and were at constant war with their Musulman neighbours. Their chief foes were the kings of Guzarat, who had made themselves independent on the break up of Mahomed Tughlak's empire. They did not aim, as the French and English afterwards did, at large inland conquests. They desired mainly the trade of the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf, and for that purpose wanted a chain of commercial ports or factories along the western coast. They principally coveted Diva or Diu, a a small island off the coast of Kathiawar. It commanded the Gulf of Cambay and, almost due west of Surat, formed a convenient stage on the homeward and outward journeys and a safe anchorage during the May storms. For the same reasons Bahadur Shah, the king of Guzarat, was unwilling to part with it. War ensued, during which the Portuguese attacked the cities held by the king of Guzarat along the western seaboard of the Maratha country. In

*Riyasat vol. II., p. 289, Brahmendraswami had a friendly feeling for the English. Parasnis' Brahmendraswami Charitra, p. 111. With Chimnaji Appa in this battle was Pilaji Jadav the ancestor of the Jadav Sardars of Wagholi. Itihas Sangraha, Sept. 1910, p. 64.

1530 Antonio de Silveira and in 1538 Diego de Silveira harried the whole seacoast from Bandra to Surat, taking no less than four thousand captives, whom they made to work at the churches and convents of Goa. To prevent a recurrence of this piracy, Malik Tokan, a Guzarat officer, built a strong fortress at the mouth of the Ulhas river close to the little village of Vasai. As soon as the Portuguese heard of the new fortress, they determined to destroy it. A Portuguese general, Nuno de Cunho, stormed it and razed it to the ground. But a new enemy now threatened Bahadur Shah. The daring and restless Humayun was about to invade Guzarat. Bahadur Shah begged the Portuguese to become his allies. As the price of their friendship, he offered them Bombay and Mahim, Diu, Daman, Chaul and Vasai. The Portuguese readily accepted the generous offer and gave Bahadur Shah such valuable aid, that in 1535 Humayun retreated to Delhi. The Portuguese next set themselves to the task of exploiting their acquisitions. Chaul and Diu they converted into strong fortresses. Daman became a thriving port. But on Vasai they bestowed special favour. Although a small village, the Hindus prized it as a seat of the worship of the god Shiva, who had an ancient temple on Tungar hill (to the east of the Bombay and Baroda railway). Its foundation had been the outcome of a struggle between the god and the demons*. A body of evil spirits led by one Vimala had been harassing the Brahmans, who lived to the east of the Sahyadris, which then still marked the limits of the Arabian Sea. The Brahmans called to their aid Parasu Rama, or Rama with the axe, who hunted into the sea Vimala and his confederates. As he ran away, Vimala took on his head one of the spurs of the Sahyadris. Planting it in the sea, he gave it the name of "Tungar", which in the Sanskrit tongue means "Hill". He had, however, learnt wisdom from his defeat and on Tungar hill he so propitiated by his penances and his adoration the god

* Da Cunha's Antiquities of Bassein.

Shiva, that the deity gave him immortality on condition that he left the Brahmans alone. The demon chief agreed and built in the great god's honour a temple on Tungar hill, wherein he worshipped Shiva under the appellation of Tungareshwar of "God of the Mountains". All went well, until one day Vimala heard a band of anchorites praise Parasu Rama. Vimala became so wroth at hearing the praises of his deadly enemy, that he forgot his promise to Shiva. Running at the anchorites, he drove them away and putting out their holy fire, spoilt their sacrifice. The anchorites again invoked Parasu Rama, who once more made war on Vimala. But although he repeatedly struck off Vimala's arms and legs, they instantly grew again, because of the immortality bestowed on him by the god Shiva. Parasu Rama then went in person to Shiva and pointed out that Vimala had broken his promise and had forfeited the divine boon. Shiva was convinced and, abandoning his follower, he gave Parasu Rama the Parasu or axe, from which he derives his name. With this formidable weapon Parasu Rama soon hewed Vimala in pieces.

Ignorant of this holy legend, the Portuguese corrupted the name Vasai to Baçaim, a word which the English again corrupted to Bassein. They made it the capital of their new acquisitions, called by them "The Province of the North" and governed by an officer styled "The General of the North". Nor was Bassein, apart from its sanctity, unworthy of its new masters' favour. The wide mouth of the Ulhas river issuing from hills that recall in their beauty the Highlands of Scotland, enabled ships to take their merchandise far inland. Another branch of the same stream flowed southwards into the magnificent harbour of Bombay. The delta of the Ulhas river which the Portuguese occupied as an appanage of Bassein was known as Sasashti, or the island of sixty-six villages. This word the Portuguese corrupted into Salcete and the English into Salsette. Its fertile soil watered alike by the river and by abundant rains, yielded rich harvests of wheat, maize and rice; and

dotted among the yellow cornfields could be seen an endless succession of mango groves, orchards and banian trees. There the Portuguese settled in great numbers and enriched by trade and agriculture, built themselves stately palaces and charming villas. So great indeed was the prosperity of Bassein, so abundant the wealth of its inhabitants and so lavish the display of costly dresses and splendid equipages, that in common parlance the city was known as Dom Baçaim or Lord Bassein. In 1661 the King of Portugal gave to the English the islands of Bombay on the southern point of Salsette, as the dowry of Catharine of Braganza, the queen of Charles II. From that time began the decay of Bassein. The English East India Company, to whom Charles transferred Bombay, proved themselves formidable trading rivals. But a more pressing danger was the rise of the Maratha power. I have already related Sambhaji's siege of Goa, and from that time forwards the Marathas and the Portuguese carried on a desultory warfare. In 1730 a Maratha army had threatened the island of Salsette and had been repulsed with difficulty. Eventually through the mediation of Robert Cowan, the English Governor of Bombay, a treaty of perpetual peace was signed by the Viceroy of Goa and the Maratha king. The danger to which the Portuguese had recently been exposed caused the viceroy, John Saldanha da Gama, to hold an enquiry into the defences of Salsette. The report of the commissioner Coutinho revealed the most lamentable neglect, due, it would seem, to the system of administration, under which all munitions and supplies were left to the control of the Jesuits. Da Gama sanctioned a large sum of money to put Salsette in a proper state of defence, but he returned to Europe before he had completed his task. His successor was the Count of Sandomil. He came with strict instructions to carry out the plans of the late viceroy and no doubt wished to do so. But his endeavours were thwarted by a fate so unhappy, that the Portuguese sought for an explanation in some supernatural event. At last it

was remembered that when landing from his ship, he had put his left and not his right foot first on the soil of India.

It must be admitted that his policy was calculated to aid the influences of destiny. The key of the island of Salsette was the fortress of Thana. It was an old Moghul outpost and just as Chester derives its name from "Castrum" so Thana took its name from the Marathi word "Thanen" a fortified post. It was essential that a Portuguese viceroy, who wished to embark on a vigorous foreign policy should see to it that Thana was impregnable. If Thana could not be made impregnable, it was wisest not to give offence to one's neighbours. The Count of Sandomil did indeed order that Bassein and Salsette island should be fortified and gave the work to a distinguished engineer Jose Lopes de Sa. But by the time that the fortifications of Bassein were finished, the money allotted was exhausted and the wall round Thana was never completed. Unhappily about this time the quarrels of Kanhoji Angre's sons seemed to offer to the Count of Sandomil a chance of extending the territories of Portugal and of regaining some of her ancient renown.

Kanhoji Angre had left two legitimate sons Sekhoji and Sambhaji. As it will be remembered, Sekhoji succeeded without opposition to his father's honours. When Sekhoji died in September 1733 his rank and possessions passed to his legitimate brother Sambhaji. But Kanhoji had also left four illegitimate sons Yesaji, Manaji, Tulaji and Dhondji. Early in 1734 Sambhaji planned the capture of Anjanwel from the Sidis. He took with him his third brother Tulaji. Yesaji he left behind at Suvarnadurg. He put Dhondji in charge of Kolaba fort, and to Manaji he entrusted his fleet. Manaji was ambitious and unscrupulous. He disliked the subordinate charge assigned to him and offered to cede to the Count of Sandomil the fortress and lands of Revadanda not far from Chaul, in return for Portuguese support. Unhappily the viceroy had not the strength of mind to refuse the bribe and promised Manaji a Portuguese con-

tingent. Manaji, thereupon, imprisoned and blinded Yesaji and declared himself independent. Sambhaji hastened to the spot, but was beaten off by the Portuguese. The danger past, Manaji refused to surrender Revadanda and the viceroy recalled his troops. Sambhaji again attacked Kolaba. Knowing that he would not again get help from the Portuguese, Manaji appealed this time to Bajirao, offering him the forts of Kothala and Rajmachi. The Peshwa had long regarded with a jealous eye the power and independence of the Angres. He affected to treat the quarrel between Sambhaji and Manaji as an ordinary civil dispute between two members of a joint Hindu family. He summoned before him the brothers and decided that Manaji was entitled to Kolaba, as his share of his father's inheritance. It was now Sambhaji's turn to call in the Portuguese. He promised to cede to them either Revadanda or an equivalent elsewhere and give them back all the Portuguese vessels taken by his father. The viceroy accepted Sambhaji's offer, because, as he explained to his government, it seemed the only way by which he might recover the cost of the first expedition. He did not realise that he was beginning a war that would increase the cost of the expedition a thousandfold. Before moving to Manaji's help, the Peshwa insisted that he should be put into possession of Kothala and Rajmachi. On the surrender of the two forts, he hastened with a large force to the relief of Kolaba. He defeated Sambhaji and his Portuguese allies and drove Sambhaji back into Suvarnadurg. At the same time he declared war against the Goa government. The viceroy was by this time utterly weary of his alliance with the Angres and offered terms of peace. Bajirao, whose aspiring mind revolved vast schemes of conquest elsewhere, was glad to accept them and both parties signed a treaty. It contained a clause that the Portuguese should give the Marathas a site for a factory on Salsette island. The site was to be chosen by the General of the North. Unhappily for the Portuguese, the General of the

North was at this time Luis Botelho, the viceroy's nephew. He was a young man of parts and courage, but of a violent temper. He had already quarrelled with the Jesuits and with many of the leading citizens of Bassein. When he learnt that he had to select inside Salsette a site for a Maratha factory, he resolved not to do it. For a long time he put off the Marathas with fair promises. At last Bajirao, suspecting his good faith, sent to Botelho as his special envoy his brother-in-law, Vyankatrao Joshi, better known as Vyankatrao Ghorpade. This distinguished man, the ancestor of the present chief of Ichalkaranji, was the son of one Naropant Joshi, a Chitpavan Brahman, whose father Mahadji had died while Naropant was only five years old. Mahadji's widow obtained support from the kindness of Mhaloji Ghorpade and brought up her son to be a priest of Ramchandra, the family god of the Ghorpades. But Mhaloji's son, the famous Santaji Ghorpade, saw with a captain's eye the delight Naropant took in horses, arms and equipment, and made the boy a trooper in his squadron. From that time on the boy was Santaji's devoted admirer and so faithful was he in his service, that Santaji bade him call himself his son and take the name of Ghorpade. One day, so the story runs, Santaji's wife to tease the boy bade him, as Santaji's son, eat off the same dish as his father. Had Naropant done so, he would have lost his Brahman caste. Nevertheless he readily offered to forfeit it, if his father wished it. Santaji Ghorpade was too high-minded to exact such a sacrifice; but from that time on, he regarded Naropant always as the son of his loins. Naropant's son was Vyankatrao. When Balaji Vishvanath was still a subordinate, he was glad to marry his daughter to Vyankatrao. In this way Vyankatrao came to be the brother-in-law of Bajirao. As they grew up, the brothers in-law took opposite sides in politics. Vyankatrao took the side first of Shivaji and then of Sambhaji of Kolhapur. He was taken prisoner by Shripatrao, the Pratinidhi, at the battle on the Warna in 1730 A. D. and was thrown into

prison as a rebel. In the end, as I have already related, Bajirao ransomed him. Vyankatrao was now ordered to demand from Luis Botelho the instant cession of the promised site. Luis Botelho, unable any longer to put off the fulfilment of the viceroy's undertaking, lost his temper and so far forgot not only the courtesies of diplomacy but those of ordinary social life, as to call, to Vyankatrao's face, the handsome and fairskinned Bajirao a negro. Vyankatrao at once broke off the interview and returned to Bajirao, who, deeply incensed, determined to avenge the insult without delay.

As a number of towns and strong places will be named in the ensuing account of the fighting and as the geography of the place has greatly changed, it will be as well to sketch as briefly as possible their positions. Due east of Bombay was the fortified island of Karanja. To the north of Karanja lay the islands of Gharapuri and Turambe now known as Trombay. To the north of Bombay was the island of Vandra or Bandra. At the mouth of the Panvel creek stood the town of Belapur. Nearer Thana were Anjur and Kelve. These last were inhabited chiefly by Pathare Prabhus, who had had religious quarrels with the Portuguese and had appealed to Bajirao. To the east of Bandra was the strong place of Marol. Off the coast between Andheri and Bassein was a row of islands. To the west of Goregaon was the fort of Vesava, called by the Portuguese Varsova. Beyond Varsova again was Malad, of which the inamdars Antaji Raghunath and Ramchandra Raghunath were in secret correspondence with Bajirao. Near Bassein was the fortified island of Dharavi. On the opposite bank to Bassein but a little further up stream was the fort of Ghorbandar, which guarded the southern mouth of the Uhlas river. Beyond

This curious incident is to be found in a letter written to the king of Portugal by Antonio de Alcacova. It is reprinted in a serial study of the siege of Bassein entitled "Os ultimos cinco generaes do norte" by Mr. J. A. Ismael Gracias-O Oriente Portugues Vol. III. p. 288.) Antonio's words are as follows. "A seus commissarios em Baçaim foras pelo general des compostos de palavras injuri osas excedendo o escandalo de faltar com vituperio do Bagi Rao, tratando o de Negro".

Bassein was the fort of Tarapur and the towns and talukas of Mahim, Dahanu and Ambargaon and the posts of Shirgaon and Chinchni. On the shore near Bassein was the fort of Arnala. To the north-east were Manora and Asheri. Prior to Coutinho's report, the fortifications of all these towns were in ruins and weakly garrisoned. Bassein had ninety guns but only twelve gunners. The cavalry numbered eight and the infantry eighty only. The wall had in places fallen down. The fort of Varsova was small, old and ruined. It had a garrison of fifty men and ten guns, but only two of the pieces were serviceable. The walls at Manora were not more than six feet high. Of its eight guns five were useless. Asheri had a garrison of a hundred and fifty broken down old men. The fort at Belapur had four companies of a hundred and eighty men each and fourteen guns, none of them very formidable. Mahim fort had a garrison of sixty, of whom only seven were Portuguese. At Tarapur were sixty men and twenty-three guns but no artillery men. Coutinho's report led to the repair of the walls of Bassein and the strengthening of its garrison. For lack of means little was done to the other strong places except Thana. But its walls, as I have mentioned, were never completed.

With great speed, secrecy and diligence Bajirao collected a large force at Poona under the pretence of a more than usually elaborate festival in honour of the goddess Parvati. He induced the king to appoint Chimnaji Appa generalissimo. The latter on his appointment sent first a thousand men under Ramchandra Joshi and Khandoji Mankar to Kalyan, where they were joined by detachments under Narayan Joshi, Antaji and Ramchandra Raghunath. Chimnaji Appa drew up the bulk of his force at some distance from Belapur. Skilfully as these preparations were hidden, it was impossible wholly to conceal them; and John Horne, the British governor of Bombay, warned Luis Botelho that large Maratha forces were collecting in the neighbourhood of the Province of the North. He

might have saved himself the trouble. He received from the general the haughty reply that when the barbarians came, he would know how to receive them. Luis Botelho, however, made no preparations for their reception. On the night of the 6th April 1737 the Maratha troops began an attack on Thana fort. At the sound of the guns, Chimnaji Appa came up with the bulk of the army. Before he could arrive, the advanced troops had swept through the unfinished walls of Thana. The Portuguese garrison after repulsing two attacks, died fighting gallantly at their posts. Chimnaji Appa delighted with this success renamed the fort of Thana the Fateh Buruj or the Tower of Victory. The Maratha columns now poured into Salsette. Narayan Joshi stormed the neighbouring fort of Parsik and the island of Dharavi. About the same time Shankarji Keshav took the fort of Arnala. Another party escaladed Ghorbandar. Before morning all that remained to the Portuguese of Salsette was the island fortress of Bandra. This the English, anxious for their own safety, helped to defend. Indeed had the Marathas after taking Arnala at once attacked Bassein, it is not impossible that that stronghold might have fallen too. Other counsels, however, prevailed and the Marathas devoted themselves to the reduction of minor strongholds. Before the rains began, they had taken Mandvi, Manora and Balapur as well as a number of other villages. On the 1st July 1737 Chimnaji Appa, leaving a considerable force under different commanders to invest Bassein returned to Poona.

The viceroy of Goa, deeply concerned at the disaster, relieved his nephew of his command and sent in his place a gallant old soldier named Antonio Cardim Froes. He had left Portugal in 1698 and had risen from the lowest rank to the highest office. He reached Bassein on the 23rd May 1737 and the veteran's presence revived the sinking spirits of the Portuguese. On the 27th August a Maratha force, eight hundred strong, made an assault on Bandra

but were repulsed with great slaughter by the garrison who only numbered a hundred and fifty. At the end of September Bajirao thought that the time had come for a general assault on Bassein. He first took the covering fort of Sabais. The commandant defended it bravely until his water-supply failed and he was forced to capitulate. On the same day storming parties simultaneously attacked Bassein and Varsova. Nine thousand Marathas succeeded in reaching the walls of Bassein and put against them forty scaling ladders. But the Portuguese stood at bay with a resolution, that would not have shamed the companions of Lorenzo d'Almeida. The Maratha ladders were thrown down and the Maratha soldiers who reached the top of the walls were either killed or taken. At Varsova, too, victory rested with the besieged and the Portuguese cannon took a fearful toll of the storming parties. The general of the North, however, complained bitterly of the English, who, pleading neutrality, refused him their help. At the same time they sold gunpowder and cannon balls stamped with the English mark to the Maratha generals.

After the failure of the assaults, the siege languished and the Lisbon Government sent out two transports, the "Nossa Senhora da Victoria" and the "Bom Successo", full of Portuguese soldiers. Thus reinforced the general of the North was able to relieve Mahim, several miles to the north of Bassein, with a strong force under Pedre de Mello. Arriving by sea they surprised the Marathas in their trenches and put them to the sword. Pedro de Mello shortly afterwards relieved Asherin called by the Portuguese Asserim, which had been reduced to the greatest straits. Antonio Cardim Froes now thought himself strong enough to begin a vigorous offensive and planned nothing less than the recapture of Thana. The recapture of this place, so he justly thought, would completely disconcert the Maratha staff and would probably result in the retreat, if not surrender of the Maratha troops within Salsette island. On the 12th September 1738, four thousand five hundred soldiers, of whom five

hundred were pure blooded Portuguese, sailed in transports from Bassein and through the harbour of Bombay up the Thana creek. Led by the gallant Pedro de Mello, they attacked the important strategic point known as the Forte dos Reis, or the fort of the kings. On the other hand the Marathas had also received large reinforcements. After Bajirao's return from Northern India the Maratha leaders hastened to the Portuguese war, so that Chimnaji Appa had now a fine army at his disposal; and in command of Thana fort was no less a soldier than the redoubtable Malharrao Holkar. Still had the Portuguese secret been kept, the attack might well have succeeded. But Mr. John Horne, the governor of Bombay, on seeing the Portuguese transports, sent an express messenger to warn the Marathas. At the same time he allowed a few of his English gunners to pretend to desert to them, so that they might help the Marathas to point their guns. Thus the Portuguese found the Marathas fully prepared. Their artillery, directed by the English gunners, mowed down the Portuguese and a cannon ball fired, so the Portuguese believe*, by an Englishman killed Pedro de Mello, as he tried bravely to rally his men. The Portuguese broke and fled back to their ships.

In the beginning of the year 1739 the viceroy relieved Antonio Froes and appointed Martinho da Silveira to be general of the North. His task was a formidable one. The Marathas had renewed the siege of Mahim and early

*Grant Duff writes that it was Antonio Froes who was killed, but Mr. Ismael Grácias has declared this to be a mistake and that the general who fell was Pedro de Mello. Grant Duff maintains that the Portuguese belief that de Mello was killed by an Englishman, is incorrect. He does not quote the authority on which he relies. On the other hand the charge was made in an official letter written by the viceroy on the 4th January 1739 to the Governor of Bombay, from which I quote the following passage.—"Quando a nossa armada foi a atacar o forte dos Reys, soccorreo ao Maratha com tres condestaveis inglezes e essa certeza tenho de Bombaim e tambem de pessoas de Ilha de Salcete que me certificao o mesmo e que hum dos condestaveis forao que fizero tiro com que matarao ao general".—O Oriente Portuguese III., p. 234.

in January 1739, took it by storm after a most gallant defence.* At the same time Bajirao resolved to dam the stream of reinforcements, that flowed from Goa to Bassein. On the 23rd January 1739, Vyankatrao Ghorpade, the envoy insulted by Luis Botelho, invaded Goa territory with twelve thousand horse and four thousand foot soldiers. In his efforts to save Bassein the Count of Sandomil had left himself few Europeans, but without their support the native levies would not face the Marathas. On the 25th January Vyankatrao took Margao by escalade and laid siege to the fortress of Rachol, the key of Goa. The viceroy reinforced the commandant of Rachol as best he could. But a sortie under an inexperienced officer ended in a serious disaster and Sandomil was compelled to fill the ranks of the garrison by calling to arms the monks and priests of Goa. By the aid of these new conscripts, Luis de Ceatano, the commandant of Rachol, repulsed in February, 1739, a vigorous assault of seven thousand Marathas. In spite, however, of occasional Portuguese successes, the end was now certain. Each month brought the viceroy news of fresh disasters. For a short time Nadir Shah's invasion gave the Portuguese hope. For Bajirao, on the news of the sack of Delhi, thought of nothing less than an alliance of every state in India against the Persian barbarians. "The war with the Portuguese is as naught," wrote the Peshwa. "There is now but one enemy in Hindustan. The whole power of the Deccan, Hindus

*Mr. Parasni's industry has discovered a letter, dated 13th December 1738, in which Vasudev Joshi reported to Chimnaji Appa an unsuccessful attack on Mahim.

"Ramchandra Hari and Mahadji Keshav trained batteries on Mahim. Two or three days later Portuguese and Abyssinians came in hundreds of boats to assist in the defence.... The enemy was very strong; we trained our batteries on the northern wall of Mahim. On the South, the Kelve side, we did not attack. The enemy fell back behind his fort walls. On the 10th November Ramchandra Hari with 700 or 800 men attacked Kelve. They killed 25 to 30 of the enemy. One of our horsemen fell and two horses were wounded. Thereafter the enemy, seizing the opportunity attacked our batteries with 1500 to 2000 men. At the same time he opened a tremendous cannonade from the fort and set fire to our guns. We

and Musulmans alike must assemble, and I shall spread our Marathas from the Narbada to the Chambal"*.) But so great were the resources of Bajirao that he could provide both an army to besiege Bassein and another large enough to drive Nadir Shah from Delhi. The viceroy of Goa learnt of the fall, one after another, of the Portuguese strong places dotted throughout the province of the North. Quelme, Sirigaon, Tarapur, Dahanu were taken by storm and the garrisons put to the sword. Varsova and Karanja surrendered. Bandra was abandoned. Indeed but for a change in the Bombay Government, Bassein would have been starved into submission. But John Horne's successor, Stephen Law, had different ideas about a neutral's duties. He refused to send to either side guns or ammunition, but he sent quantities of provisions by sea to Bassein and with this aid and their own dauntless courage, the Portuguese prolonged the defence beyond all expectation. Martinho da Silveira, the new General of the North, claimed descent from Antonio da Silveira †, the hero of the defence of Diu against the Turks; and he vowed like his reputed ancestor that so long as he lived, the flag of Portugal would never be hauled down from the ramparts of Bassein. On the 15th April, 1739, the valiant Silveira met a soldier's death in the bastion of Nossa Senhora dos Remedios. A cannon ball struck him in the body and killed him instantly. Caetano de Souza Pereira succeeded to the command but

---

had no room to deploy. Ramchandra Hari, Amarsing Shirke and others with 10 to 15 horsemen attacked the enemy and killed about 15 of them. Ramchandra Hari killed two with his own hand and so checked them. Just then a bullet hit him in the right hand. He dropped his sword and as it fell, it wounded him on the knee. Thereupon our men gave way and the enemy captured our batteries. Mahadji Keshav, Vaghoji Khanwalkar and other high officers were in the batteries. They had no time to escape and so fell fighting. About 200 of our men were killed and about 100 wounded. Unable to bear the reproaches of Bajirao, they threw away their lives and fell on the battlefield.

Parasnis' Brahmendraswami Charitra, p. 78.

*Grant Duff.

†The ancestry was apparently doubtful.

after Silveira's death, the Marathas made greater progress. Their army, according to Portuguese accounts, now numbered two hundred thousand men; and by the 13th May, 1739, they had after repeated failures succeeded in mining the tower of Nossa Senhora dos Remedios. At 7 a. m. on the 13th May the explosion of two mines partially destroyed the bastion. The Marathas rushed to the attack, but were driven back by the valour of the garrison and the explosion of a third mine caused them heavy losses. Throughout the day the Maratha leaders, Chimnaji Appa, Manaji Angre, Malharrao Holkar, Ranoji Sindia vied with each other in trying to scale the walls of the doomed city. They delivered no less than eleven assaults on the tower of San Sebastian and six others on that of Nossa Senhora dos Remedios. The Portuguese repulsed them with hand grenades and musketry fire. During the night the besieged made a curtain of lighted firewood inside the latter tower and barricaded the breaches in the tower of San Sebastian, with broken doors and disused hencoops. On the 14th May the explosion of a fourth mine laid the tower of San Sebastian level with the ground. The Marathas established themselves in the ruins of the masonry and enfiladed the garrison. All day the Portuguese defended themselves with the courage of despair. In the evening a Maratha envoy bearing a white flag told Pereira that in the morning three fresh mines would be fired, the town carried and the Christian population put to the sword. Pereira called a council of war. The officers reported that the troops were exhausted and unfit any longer to man the walls. No succours could be expected from Goa; and Pereira decided to make terms while this was still possible. In the hour of victory the Marathas showed commendable generosity. They allowed the garrison eight days in which to leave Bassein with the honours of war. British ships took them to Bombay where the Governor, Stephen Law, entertained them hospitably and furnished them with money. In September 1739 he sent them in native boats to Chaul,

where they arrived in time to repulse the assault of a Maratha army that had been besieging it for some months previously. But the troubles of the war-worn garrison were not yet over. Having saved Chaul, they set out for Goa. When only two hours' march from their journey's end, they were attacked and routed by the Savant of Savantvadi with the loss of two hundred of their best men.

Directly Bassein had fallen, Holkar and Sindia hastened northwards to join Bajirao in his march against Nadir Shah. But the Persian king had already retreated and the Marathas were at liberty to concentrate their armies round Goa. Nevertheless they did not besiege that city with the same vigour as they had besieged Bassein. They entered into negotiations with the Portuguese, demanding in return for peace the cession of Chaul, Daman and a quarter of the revenues of the province of Goa. The mediation of the English softened their demands. They agreed to grant peace upon the cession of Chaul in addition to the conquests that they had already made. The Portuguese lessened the shame of the surrender of Chaul by ceding it to the English, who in turn ceded it to Bajirao, who bestowed it on Manaji Angre. (The Marathas admitted that in the siege of Bassein they had lost five thousand men. The Portuguese claimed that their enemies' losses amounted to twelve thousand. Their own losses did not exceed eight hundred. Nevertheless by the cession of Bassein, Chaul and the island of Salsette they paid a heavy price for Botelho's unworthy insult.)

One part of the story still remains to be told. Sambhaji, whose quarrel with Manaji had been the first cause of the hostility between the Portuguese and the Marathas, had seen his allies overthrown without lifting a finger to help them. When the Maratha army left the neighbourhood, he again attacked his brother Manaji, took Chaul, Alibag and laid siege to Kolaba. Manaji once more invoked Bajirao's help. To Manaji's relief Bajirao sent his son Balaji, the future Peshwa and Chimnaji Appa and induced

the Governor of Bombay to aid in the enterprise. The siege of Kolaba was raised. Chaul and the other places taken were recovered and Sambhaji escaped with difficulty to his fortress of Suvarnadurg.

The defeat of the Portuguese left the English and the Marathas face to face. It must be admitted that the conduct of the English was based on no consistent policy. They tried to please both sides and pleased neither. The Portuguese were angry with them for warning the Thana garrison; and Chimnaji Appa resented the help given by Stephen Law to the Portuguese. The Company decided to send two missions, one to Chimnaji Appa and one to the Maratha king. On 12th May 1739 Captain Gordon left Bombay for Shahu's court. On the same day Captain Inchbird went to Bassein, to remove from Chimnaji Appa's mind his unfavourable impressions and to induce him to abandon a projected expedition against Bombay. Chimnaji Appa received Captain Inchbird coldly and hinted that the Company's object in sending two missions was simply to create ill-feeling between him and the king. Captain Gordon met with better fortune. On the 13th May he reached Danda Rajpuri. There he was received in state by the Sidis. On the 14th he again started, this time by sea; but on the 15th he was arrested by the Marathas. After seeing his papers, they released him. A similar experience befell him on the 19th May. On the 20th Captain Gordon began to ascend the Ghats. On the 23rd May he reached Satara, but the king had gone towards Miraj. On the 25th Antajipant, the agent of the Pratinidhi, called on Gordon, presented him with a dress of honour and received in return a ring. On the 1st June 1739 the English envoy reached Shahu's tents. On the 3rd June Captain Gordon called on the Pratinidhi. The latter asked him a few questions about Bombay and enquired mockingly whether it was fear of Bajirao that had sent him. On the 8th June the envoy succeeded in reaching the king. But he transacted no business. While

he was in the royal presence, a letter came from Bajirao to say that Nadir Shah, according to rumour, intended to march against the Marathas. Shahu, disgusted at the news, pulled off his turban and flinging it on the ground, cried out. "I lost twenty thousand men at the siege of Bassein. Will Bassein give them back to me?" The rumour, however, proved false. On the 14th June the king in open Darbar proclaimed that Nadir Shah through fear of the Marathas had fled the country. On the 19th June the victorious Vyankatrao returned from the siege with the pleasing intelligence that the Portuguese had accepted the king's terms. Cheered by this news, Shahu on the 25th June again sent for Captain Gordon and, receiving him far more graciously, gave him leave to go, and said on parting, "Tell my friend the Governor to be so kind as to send me eight geese, a pair of turkeys, a pair of Basra pigeons and any other rare birds that he may have." He also condescended to admire the sword of the envoy, who with ready courtesy begged the king to accept it. Shahu was so pleased at the gift, that on the 27th June, he for the third time required Gordon's presence and said, "You English are good, honest people. You have no aims other than trade. You never persecute any one for his religion. You English will be very useful to us in our new conquest of Bassein."* He then informed the envoy that he had entrusted this part of his business to Bajirao. He, however, wrote to the Peshwa commanding him, if possible, to make friends with the English. This order the Peshwa obeyed and granted the English peace and free trade†. Captain Gordon had thus attained his object and on the 30th June he set out for Bombay.

* Brahmendraswami Charitra by R. B. Parasnis, p. 111.

† Aitchison's Treaties, V. 14.

CHAPTER XLIV

SHAHU TAKES MIRAJ; THE DEATH OF BAJIRAO AND THE SUCCESSION OF HIS SON BALAJI

A. D. 1739 TO 1740

THE reason why Captain Gordon did not find Shahu at Satara was a curious one. The successes of the king's generals were the pride of the Maratha nation. Nevertheless much as they applauded the royal victories, the peasantry and burgesses could not help whispering to each other, that in Shivaji's time his battles had been won by his own valour and skill and not by the generalship of his subordinates. Shahu had abundance of courage, but he disliked the fatigues of a campaign. In this view he was encouraged by his flatterers, who repeated to him that a king, so great as he was, could only take the field, if opposed in person by the emperor of Delhi. At last, however, the murmurs of the commonalty reached the royal ears and the king decided that he would cast aside his faded laurels and deck himself with fresh ones. The town of Miraj had from Aurangzib's time held a Moghul garrison. It lay in the heart of the Maratha country and is now the capital of the Chitpavan chief of Miraj. It was easy for the Marathas to attack it and difficult for the Nizam to defend it. The king, therefore, resolved to take it and by this achievement convince his people that the burden of administration alone prevented him from emulating his grandfather's renown on the battlefield. The Miraj campaign, however, resembled a royal procession rather than a military expedition. The daily march rarely exceeded four miles*. The royal tents were almost as

* Riyasat, vol. II., 349 *et. seq.*

splendid as those of Aurangzib; and indeed the state held and the etiquette observed were based on imperial precedent. The king and his high officers rode on elephant-back inside splendidly decorated howdahs. In front of the elephants went innumerable batteries of artillery. In front of the batteries marched picked infantry and in front of them chosen squadrons of Maratha horse. Behind the king were massed the royal musicians, who beguiled the tedium of the march by tunes on immense brass war-horns. Then came drummers on horseback, war elephants, innumerable cavalry and countless regiments of infantry. With due pomp and circumstance the king at last reached Umbrej, which he made his permanent headquarters. Thence Shahu sent a small force into the Carnatic and gave himself up to the pleasures of the chase. A month or two later he sent the Pratinidhi to attack Udaji Chavan, who was plundering the neighbourhood. This task the Pratinidhi successfully achieved and brought Udaji Chavan a prisoner into the royal presence. Not until the end of 1739 did Shahu decide to move against Miraj. He sent against it an army of thirty thousand men, commanded by Appajirao Pingle, the son of that Bahiru Pingle, whom he had dismissed from the office of Peshwa. Miraj fort was strong and the garrison resisted stoutly. At last Shahu losing patience went to Miraj in person. Having reconnoitred the position, he ordered the Pratinidhi to make a general assault on the following day. The assault was preceded by a violent cannonade, which made a breach in the north-eastern tower. The Maratha infantry, fired by the king's presence, cut their way through the breach and made themselves masters of Miraj. They lost a hundred and fifty killed and fifty wounded. The king followed up his success at Miraj by some operations against free-booters in the neighbourhood. Triumphant in all of them, Shahu returned to his headquarters at Umbrej. There he dismissed his officers and went with a small retinue to Chaphal*, where at Ramdas'

* There is a shrine of Ramdas at Chaphal as well as at Parli.

shrine he gave thanks for his victories. Last of all he returned in splendid state to his palace at Satara and erected *gudis* or maypoles throughout the city to celebrate his victorious campaign. His joy, however, was soon to be darkened by the death of his first minister.

Bajirao had been successful in all his wars and had defeated in turn the armies of Delhi, of Nizam-ul-Mulk and of the Portuguese. He was so fortunate as to meet death in the very height of his glory. On the 29th July 1739 he returned to Poona. On the 3rd September Chimnaji Appa came there also after his successful campaign against the Portuguese. Bajirao's son Balaji had been with Shahu at the siege of Miraj. On the 4th November he joined his father and uncle. On the return of Balaji, he, Bajirao's mother Radhabai, and Chimnaji Appa united in urging Bajirao to get rid of Mastani, a Musulman mistress to whom he was devotedly attached. Several stories are told how this lovely girl came into Bajirao's possession. One is that Chatrasal of Bandelkhand gave her as a gift to Bajirao. The second tale is that the Nizam gave her as a present to the great minister. The third story is told by the author of the Peshwa's bakhar. According to him Mastani had been the mistress of a certain Shahajat Khan, a Moghul officer at one time in command of an imperial force in Central India. Chimnaji Appa surprised Shahajat Khan and among other spoil took captive Mastani. The lovely girl would have taken poison, but Chimnaji Appa promised her Bajirao's protection and sent her to his brother. Bajirao fell deeply in love with her, but Mastani was as prudent as she was pretty and would not accept Bajirao's advances, until he had promised that any son born of their union would receive a fitting share in his father's possessions.

A fourth and more probable account has been given in the Marathi Monthly "Itihas Sangraha." According to the learned author*, Mastani was the daughter of Raja Chatrasal

*Rao Bahadur Parasnis.

by a Musulman mistress. As a return for Bajirao's help Chatrasal gave Mastani to Bajirao. Whatever her origin, all the stories agree as to her wit and beauty; and the chief attraction in the festival held by Bajirao in honour of Ganpati, his family god, was the singing and dancing of this Indian Salome. Nor was she less daring than lovely. She accompanied Bajirao on many of his campaigns. On one occasion he so far forgot etiquette as to take her with him to Satara, when he went to pay his respects to the king, a piece of conduct which drew on him a reprimand royal from the indignant Shahu. As the years passed, the minister grew so infatuated with the beautiful dancing girl, that he neglected his wife Kashibai. It was this infatuation which led his brother Chimnaji Appa, his mother Radhabai and his son Balaji to protest against his behaviour. He paid no heed to them. At last, early in November 1739, his brother and his son, fearing that his attentions to Mastani were undermining Bajirao's health, removed her by force and imprisoned her in a single room in the Shanwar Wada. The minister retired gloomily to Patas. But the beautiful and spirited courtesan would not resign her empire without a struggle. On the 24th November she escaped from prison and rejoined her lover. Her enemies followed her and again successfully used their power to separate the minister and his mistress. Weary of the struggle, Bajirao decided to seek on the battlefield that peace of mind which he could not find in his own home. An excellent excuse existed for a fresh campaign against the Nizam. In 1728 by the treaty of Mungi Shevgaon, the Nizam had promised to Bajirao a substantial private jaghir, but he had failed to keep his promise. The Nizam was away at Delhi, but his son Nasir Jang was in the Deccan and could easily have granted the jaghir, had his father wished it. On the 12th December 1739 Bajirao reviewed his troops and set out from Poona to enforce this part of the Mungi Shevgaon treaty. A few days later Chimnaji Appa joined him with a large contingent. Nasir

Jang, hearing at Aurangabad of the invasion marched with forty thousand men to oppose it. The armies met on the banks of the Godavari and for two months an indecisive struggle raged up and down the river. At last Bajirao forced Nasir Jang to retreat to Aurangabad and take shelter in the fort. Nasir Jang was soon closely besieged. At last, he sued for peace and gave Bajirao in jaghir the districts of Handia and Khargon south of Indore. Bajirao had thus attained the object of the war. He sent Chimnaji Appa back to Poona. His son Balaji he sent to Kolaba, that he might try and settle the endless disputes of the Angre brothers. He himself, with the interest of a new proprietor, went northwards to Khargon and spent the winter there, inspecting his jaghir and mastering the details of its administration. Suddenly at Raver, as he was touring along the banks of the Narbada, he fell ill of fever. His frame exhausted by war and labour, harassed by family quarrels and disappointed passion, was unable to resist the attacks of disease. On the 25th April he passed away at the age of forty-two in the presence of his younger son Janardhanpant and his faithful and forgiving wife Kashibai. The news reached Balaji at Kolaba and he and Chimnaji Appa were present at the funeral ceremonies. With them went Mastani. Separated from her lover in this world, she passed fearlessly through the flames to greet him in the next. Kashibai survived her husband for many years. In 1746 she went on a pilgrimage to Benares. On the 27th November 1758 she died greatly mourned and respected, having lived to see her son reach an eminence, far loftier even than that attained by Bajirao*.

By his wife Bajirao had four legitimate sons Balaji, born on 8th December 1721, Ramchandra, Raghunath, born on the 1st August 1734 and Janardan. By Mastani he had one illegitimate son. Bajirao wished ardently that his mistress' child should be declared a Brahman. But

* Bajirao was born in 1698. Sardesai, vol. II. Rajvade gives the date as 1686, wrongly as I think.

powerful although he was, he could not break down the opposition of the priesthood. Hinduism accepts no converts; and the son of a Musalman concubine could never be invested with the sacred thread. Bajirao was reluctantly forced to bring him up in his mother's faith. He became a Musalman and was named Shamsher Bahadur. As a soldier he was renowned for his ardour and courage. In 1761 when only twenty-one years of age, he fell fighting bravely on the field of Panipat. He left a son Ali Bahadur, whom Nana Phadnavis sent to Malwa in the hope of checking the formidable rise of Mahadji Sindia. This Ali Bahadur failed to do. But he made himself master of a considerable tract of country and became the ancestor of the Nawabs of Banda.

Judged by any standard, it can hardly be denied that Bajirao was a great man. His person was commanding, his skin fair, his features strikingly handsome. So widespread was his reputation for beauty that, according to a Maratha legend, the ladies of Nizam-ul-mulk asked of their lord as a special favour that they might at his next meeting with the Brahman minister, unseen themselves, catch a glimpse of his fine presence and classic features. At the same time his dress was simple and his fare was as meagre as that of any trooper in the field. An amusing story runs that once the emperor Mahomed Shah, curious to learn something of the appearance of the great soldier who was overrunning his dominions, sent his court artist to paint him. The artist brought back a picture of Bajirao on horseback in the dress of a trooper. His reins lay loose on his horse's neck and his lance rested on his shoulder. As he rode, he rubbed with both hands ears of corn which he ate, after removing the husks. The emperor in great alarm cried, "Why, the man is a fiend" and at once begged the Nizam to make peace with him. Bajirao lacked the attractive courtesy, for which the other members of his house were noted. His manners were overbearing. His letters often contained censure but never praise. Indeed he seems

rarely to have written save to reprimand a subordinate. In spite of his eminent talents he was not liked by the king and he was detested by the Deccan nobles. He was feared, not loved even by his own children.

The monument of Bajirao most familiar to Englishmen in Poona is the ruin of his house the Shanwar Wada or the Saturday Palace. Eight years after his elevation to the office of Peshwa he formed the design of building it. Two years later he put his design into execution. Two reasons have been handed down by legend for his choice of the site. One is that he saw on it a dog pursued by a hare and therefore assumed that the dwellers on that spot were invincible. The other is that his horse stumbled there and that from this incident he concluded that it was the wish of Providence that he should remain in the neighbourhood. A more probable reason was the favourable situation of Poona watered by two rivers and sheltered alike by Sinhgad and Purandar. It was alive, too, with memories both of the great king and of Balaji Vishvanath. It was at Poona that Shivaji had passed his boyhood; and Balaji had at one time been Sarsubha of the town and district*.

Close to the Muta river stood an old Musalman fort which had long fallen into disuse and decay. This Bajirao pulled down as well as two villages which stood close by and which the king, at his request, gave him. The first stone was laid on the 10th January 1730 A. D. and the palace was completed on the 22nd January 1732. It was called the Saturday Palace, because it was on a Saturday that the earth spirit was appeased by the burial of a living victim beneath the projected site; and it was on a Saturday also that the foundation stone was laid. The palace itself no longer exists as it was destroyed by fire on the 21st February 1828, but descriptions of it have survived. It cost Rs. 16,110 to build. It was six stories high and had four large and several smaller courtyards. The main

* Sardesai Riyasat, vol. II., p. 25.

courtyards were known as the Granary Court, the Dancing Court, the Kitchen Court and the Sweetmeat Court. There were no less than seven great reception halls. They were known as (1) the Gokak hall, so called because its walls were hung with toys made in Gokak, (2) the Nach or Dancing hall, because in it the dancing girls beguiled the tedium of the Peshwa's leisure hours, (3) the Mirror hall, so named because the walls and ceiling were entirely covered with mirrors, (4) the Kacheri Diwankhana, or court of audience. It was here that the Peshwa in later years received his ministers and the ambassadors of other powers. (5) The Ivory hall because of its ivory ornamentation, (6) the Ganesh Diwankhana. It was here that the Peshwa worshipped his family God Ganpati on Ganesh Chaturthi, the festival of the god's birthday. (7) Narayanrao's hall. It did not, however, obtain this name until the murder of Narayanrao, many years after Bajirao's death. The main northern entrance with its massive walls and protecting bastions was not built until after Bajirao's son Balaji had made himself master of the kingdom. The tale runs that when Bajirao was about to build the northern wall, king Shahu sent him a polite but at the same time significant message. In it he begged Bajirao not to build it, for fear of alarming the emperor of Delhi, towards whose throne the new fortifications would look. That part, however, of the building which most excites human interest is the Mastani gate, which led into the apartments specially built by Bajirao for his beautiful courtesan.

The death of Bajirao was on the 17th December 1740 followed by the death of his younger brother Chimnaji Appa. He had long been ailing and had often expressed the fear that he would not live to see the fall of Bassein. Indeed he had ordered his generals that, if he died, they should ram his corpse into one of their cannon and fire it into the hostile city. Thus in death, if not in life, Bassein would be his dwelling place. In spite of failing strength, he had never spared himself; and so long as the flag of

Portugal waved over the Bassein ramparts, Chimnaji Appa's ardent spirit overcame the ills of his body. When Bassein fell the reaction came. On the 10th September he wrote to Brahmendra Swami, "Lately I have been greatly worried by an incessant cough. I suffer from pain all over my body. It is this that has kept me from writing to you for the last four days. With the Swami's blessing I hope to get well." This hope was never realised. In October 1740 he felt so ill that he returned to Poona. Day by day his cough grew worse, until on the 17th December he died in the thirty-fourth year of his age. He was born in 1708, being ten years younger than Bajirao. His first wife, Rakmabai, the sister of Trimbakrao Pethe died on the 31st August 1730, shortly after giving birth to their son, Sadashivrao. On the 9th December 1731 he married his second wife Anapurnabai. By her, he had a daughter Bagabai, who married Gangadharnaik Onkar. Anapurnabai was devoted to her husband and proved her devotion by burning herself alive upon his body.

The fame of Chimnaji Appa has been overshadowed by that of his elder brother; yet his talents were, it is probable, in no way inferior to those of Bajirao. On the other hand Chimnaji Appa's was the far more attractive personality. His mind was bent towards study. His manners were pleasing. His temper was sweet and reasonable. It often happened that the Deccan nobles, unwilling to approach the haughty first minister and to risk a sharp, discourteous refusal, reached their object by winning to their cause Chimnaji Appa, against whose persuasive pleading even Bajirao was rarely proof. Nay, at times the king himself stooped to adopt the device of his nobles. It was to Chimnaji Appa that Bajirao's children turned for that affection, which their father, led away first by his ambitions and afterwards by his passion for Mastani, denied them. While Bajirao incurred gigantic debts for the upkeep of his armies, Chimnaji Appa checked with strict economy the household expenses. It was Chimnaji Appa who saw

that Bajirao's sons were educated, were invested with the sacred thread, were united to suitable wives and taught the high morality and noble truths of the Hindu faith. While Chimnaji Appa had in abundance the humble virtues, he in no way lacked either physical or moral courage. It was he who defeated and killed Sidi Sat, and but for his perseverance and energy Bassein would most likely never have fallen. His moral courage stood a searching test when he dared to interfere with Bajirao's intrigue with Mastani. He not only rebuked his elder brother, but twice forced him to dismiss his beautiful mistress and return to the embraces of his wife and children. His early death was a profound calamity for the Maratha people. Had he lived longer, he would doubtless have controlled the quarrels of Raghunathrao and Sadashivrao, both of whom revered him as their father, and thus saved his country from the disaster of Panipat. His wisdom would have guided the counsels of Balaji, checked the ambitions of Holkar and Sindia and preserved his nation from those unhappy rivalries, which more than aught else brought about the downfall of Maratha independence.

On the death of Bajirao, the Deccan party made a fresh effort to stop the hereditary prime ministership of the Bhat family. The leader of the Deccan party was now Raghuji Bhosle. He was not a man of great capacity, but he was a personal favourite of king Shahu. He was a bold horseman and a keen hunter. When Kanhoji Bhosle, the heir of Parsoji Bhosle, fell under Shahu's displeasure, the king conferred on Raghuji Bhosle his cousin, the post of Sena Sahib Subha, till then held by Kanhoji. A long enmity had divided the royal favourite and the first minister. When Bajirao had surrounded the Nizam at Bhopal, Raghuji Bhosle sacked Allahabad, a part of India which Bajirao deemed that he alone had the right to plunder. In return Bajirao had sent one Avaji Kavade to plunder Berar, the province of Raghuji Bhosle. Raghuji Bhosle now used all his influence with the king to prevent the

nomination of Bajirao's son Balaji as first minister. The king, however, was wise enough to see that for all his skill as a hunter and his courage as a soldier, Raghuji Bhosle was unfit to be Peshwa.

There was yet another candidate in the field, namely Babuji Joshi, the brother-in-law of Bajirao and the husband of Balaji's aunt Bhiubai. He was nothing more than a successful business man and money-lender. But, like Crassus, he fondly fancied his talents equal to any task. Raghuji Bhosle gave him his support, intending to use him as a mask for his own ambitions.

The chief objections to Balaji's elevation were the vast debt left by his father and his own youth. Bajirao's liabilities amounted to fourteen and a half lakhs. These he had borrowed from some thirty creditors at rates varying from 12 to 30 per cent. The largest creditors were Raghunath Patwardhan, whose debt was three lakhs and Brahmendraswami whose debt amounted to one lakh and five thousand. Both of these were content to wait for their money. But Babuji Joshi to whom Bajirao had owed but thirty-six thousand rupees, dunned Balaji mercilessly. To Balaji's rescue went Mahadji Purandare, who paid Joshi in full. Balaji's youth was a no less serious difficulty. The king and the men round him were all in the evening of life. Balaji who was born on the 12th December 1721, was only in his nineteenth year. But in the East men mature early. He had been married to his wife Gopikabai when only eight years old and had been living with her for over a year. He had already distinguished himself in the war against the Sidis and had been brought up under the care of the wise and valiant Chimnaji Appa. If he lacked the constructive genius of Balaji Vishwanath and the more splendid talents of his father Bajirao, he was yet an able, resourceful and industrious man. Above all, Shahu loved him like his own son. At the instance of the Pratinidhi, who disliked Raghuji Bhosle even more than his Chitpavan rival, king Shahu on the

25th June 1740 appointed Balaji in his father's place. As he did so, he gave him the following letter of instructions.

"Your father Bajirao and your grandfather Balaji served me most faithfully and in my service did mighty deeds. I sent Bajirao to humble the Persian and restore the Moghal empire. But he died almost immediately afterwards. His ambition was to guard the Moghul empire and at the same time to conquer all Hindustan. You are his son; realise your father's ambition. Lead your horsemen beyond the walls of Attock!"

The ceremony of investiture was an imposing one. On its completion Shahu bade Balaji go to Poona. Raghuji Bhosle he sent on an expedition to the south.

The motive of the expedition was an appeal to Shahu for help from Pratapsing, Raja of Tanjore. After the fall of Jinji the Moghuls had rapidly made themselves masters of south-eastern India. Zulfikar Khan's deputy, Daud Khan, had again made one Sadat Ullah Khan, Nawab or governor of the Carnatic, and it was his duty to impose everywhere the Moghul ascendency. This task Sadat Ullah Khan ably performed and at the time of Raghuji Bhosle's expedition the whole south-east of the peninsula was under Musulman suzerainty.

Tanjore, however, had survived by making due submission and was at this time larger than ever before. Shivaji's half-brother Vyankoji had died in 1687 leaving three sons, Shahaji, Sarfoji and Tukoji. They succeeded each other and between them occupied the throne from 1687 to 1735. The youngest Tukoji left two legitimate sons Baba Sahib and Sahooji and a natural son Pratapsing. Baba Sahib succeeded but died very shortly afterwards, leaving no issue. After a troubled reign of a few months Sahooji was deposed by his half-brother Pratapsing. The latter, however, had recently been greatly harassed by one Chanda Sahib, a name famous in the early history of the struggles between the English and the French. Pratapsing now earnestly besought his kinsman Shahu to send an

army to his relief. Shahu, who had always regarded the house of Tanjore with the kindliest feelings, consented to do so; and it was in command of the army of relief that Shahu placed Raghuji Bhosle.

Sadat Ullah Khan was one of the best rulers of his time. He died in 1732. On his death his nephew Dost Ali succeeded him. On hearing of Raghuji Bhosle's intended invasion, Dost Ali at once took steps to save the Carnatic. He chose a strong position on the Damalcherry pass to the north of the river Pone. He had with him only ten thousand troops, but he trusted to the difficulty of the country and sent pressing orders to his son Safdar Ali and Chanda Sahib, who was his son-in-law, to hasten to his help. Safdar Ali, however, was engaged in a distant expedition; while Chanda Sahib was loth to leave Trichinopoli, which he had recently acquired from the widow of its hereditary governor by an act of gross treachery. Winning her affection, he swore on the Koran to marry her, if she admitted him and his troops into her fortress. She did so and was at once flung into a dungeon. Her appeal to Chanda Sahib's oath was met by the explanation that he had not really sworn on the Koran, but only on a brick wrapped up in cloth of gold. Such an oath was in Chanda Sahib's opinion not binding on him. Dost Ali was thus forced to meet the Maratha army with only the troops by him. Raghuji Bhosle had fifty thousand men, but even so Dost Ali might have repulsed him, had not the Hindu chief, who was guarding the key to the position, deserted to the enemy. Early on the 19th May*, 1740, the Marathas pressed through a gorge to the south of Dost Ali's camp and attacked him in front, flank and rear. In a few hours the Musulman army was totally destroyed and Dost Ali lay dead in the field. Hearing of the disaster, Chanda Sahib fortified himself in Trichinopoli. Safdar Ali retired to Arcot. Both entrusted their families and their

* Colonel Malleson's *History of the French in India*. This chapter is largely based on that admirable work.

valuables to M. Dumas, the French governor of Pondicherry. Raghuji Bhosle, after his victory, plundered a vast stretch of country and moved against Arcot. Safdar Ali fled to Vellore, where in August 1740 he made a treaty with the Marathas. They were on the one hand to recognise him as Nawab of the Carnatic and help him to drive Chanda Sahib from Trichinopoli. On the other hand he was to pay Raghuji Bhosle ten million rupees and to reinstate all the Hindu princes and landowners whom he and his father had dispossessed since 1736 A. D.

Raghuji Bhosle then marched on Trichinopoli. Chanda Sahib, who was a man of parts and energy, had spent the interval by strengthening its fortifications and in storing up large quantities of grain. So ready was he for the Maratha onset that Raghuji Bhosle gave up the idea of storming Trichinopoli, and adopted with success a trick that should not have deceived a man of Chanda Sahib's capacity. He gave out that the campaign had been a great pecuniary loss, and that weary of the Carnatic he would return to the western Deccan. He gave colour to this statement by retreating to Shivajaya, some eighty miles south of Trichinopoli. Chanda Sahib, thinking that the Marathas had left for good, sold his stores of grain and sent his brother Barra Sahib with ten thousand of his men to invade Madura. Directly Raghuji Bhosle heard that Chanda Sahib had fallen into his trap, he hastened by forced marches to Trichinopoli and had begun to besiege it before Chanda Sahib had had time to replenish his empty granaries. Chanda Sahib defended himself as best he could and ordered Barra Sahib to return. Raghuji Bhosle detached twenty thousand cavalry to intercept him. Barra Sahib, surrounded by the Maratha horse, made a fine defence until a cannon ball knocked him off his elephant. Thereupon his army dispersed. His body was found on the battlefield and brought to Raghuji's tent. The Maratha leader had it clad in rich clothes and sent it to Trichinopoli, that Chanda Sahib might learn from it, as Hannibal had

learnt from the head of Hasdrubal, the death of his brother and the downfall of his hopes. In spite of this disaster, Chanda Sahib defended himself bravely from the 15th December, 1740, to the 21st March, 1741, when, his ammunition and stores exhausted, he had no alternative but to surrender. Raghuji Bhosle sent him a prisoner to Satara fort and appointed Murarirao Ghorpade, a great nephew of the famous Santaji Ghorpade, to hold Trichinopoli with a garrison of fourteen thousand men.

Raghuji Bhosle next advanced against Pondicherry and demanded the instant surrender of Chanda Sahib's family and jewels, an indemnity of six million rupees and a regular annual tribute. It will be remembered that in 1672 the French admiral, M. de la Haye, had established himself in Saint Thomé, at one time a Portuguese settlement on the Coromandel coast. The king of Golconda, urged thereto by the Dutch and aided by a Dutch contingent, set out to retake it. The departure of the Golconda army had enabled Shivaji to extort two million pagodas from the king of Golconda*. But the latter revenged himself on the French. In 1674 he and the Dutch took Saint Thomé; but so gallant had been the defence of M. François Martin, the French governor, that he and his garrison were allowed to march out with the honours of war. Some of the French soldiers were shipped back to France. François Martin with the remainder marched to a spot at the mouth of the Jinji river, which some years before he had, as a refuge in evil times, bought from Sher Khan Lodi, the Bijapur governor. The spot was quite open and destitute alike of comforts and necessaries. But Martin was a man not easily discouraged. He soon built houses and laid out gardens for himself and his followers. Round them grew a native town which the Indians called Phulcherry, or the town of flowers. This name the French corrupted into Pondichéry and the English into Pondicherry. In May, 1677, Sher Khan Lodi was routed and captured† by Shivaji, who thereafter

*See vol. 1 p. 238. †vol. 1. p. 255.

appeared before the walls of Pondicherry. Martin's courtesy, backed by a handsome present and a promise never to make war on the Marathas, appeased the great king and he left the French alone. In 1693 the Dutch took Pondicherry, but at the treaty of Ryswick (September 21st, 1697) the French recovered it and M. Martin, warned by previous experience, spent large sums in strengthening it and made it one of the most thriving towns in that part of India. M. Dumas was now the French governor of Pondicherry. He had never been deceived by the Marathas' feigned retreat and had warned Chanda Sahib against denuding Trichinopoli. At the same time both during their retirement and while they were besieging Chanda Sahib, he strained every nerve to prepare Pondicherry against their coming. He repaired its fortifications, collected vast quantities of stores, formed a body of twelve hundred French infantry and drilled five thousand Musulmans, not in the somewhat careless way that the Portuguese had done, but with the rigorous discipline which the renowned generals of Louis XIV. had introduced into his standing armies. In doing so he made the greatest military discovery of the eighteenth century. He invented the Indian sepoy; who, tried on a thousand battlefields against every enemy, has shown himself, if properly led, the equal of all but first class European troops.

As Raghuji Bhosle marched against the French fortress, he sent in advance a haughty letter to the governor.

"My sovereign", wrote Raghuji Bhosle, "gave you leave to establish yourselves at Pondicherry on condition of paying him an annual tribute. Believing that the French deserved his friendship and kept their word, he made over to you a considerable territory but you never kept the condition. The Maratha army has now come to enforce it. It has beaten the proud Musulmans and compelled them to pay tribute. I have orders to take Trichinopoli and Jinji and to collect our arrears from the Europeans in the seacoast towns.... You were wrong in not paying

tribute. We treated you with favour, yet you took sides against us. Chanda Sahib has left in your care the treasure chests of Trichinopoli, his jewels, his horses, his elephants, his wife and his son ... You know how we have treated the town of Bassein. My army is very numerous and it wants money for its expenses. If you do not act as I demand, I shall know how to draw from you money to pay my whole army. I rely upon your at once sending me upon receipt of this letter the wife and son of Chanda Sahib, together with his elephants, horses, jewels and treasure"

M. Dumas summoned his council and read them Raghuji Bhosle's letter. It was better in his eyes, he said, to endure a siege than to dishonour themselves by handing over the refugees to the Marathas. The chivalrous Frenchmen unanimously approved their chief's opinion. Confident of their support, M. Dumas replied to the Marathas courteously but firmly*. "You tell me," he wrote, "that for fifty years we have owed tribute to your king. Never has the French nation paid tribute to any one. Indeed were I to do so, I should forfeit my head to my master, the king of France. When we were given, not by your king, but by the princes of this country, a piece of land on which to build a fortress and a town, they required but one condition, namely, that we should not molest the temples and the religion of the country people. This condition we have faithfully observed.....

"You have asked me to make over to your horsemen the wife and son of Chanda Sahib and the riches she brought here. You are a nobleman, at once generous and brave, what would you think of me if I were guilty of so base an act? The wife of Chanda Sahib is in Pondicherry under the protection of the king of France, my master; and every Frenchman in India would sooner die than hand her over.....

* *Memoire dans les archives de la compagnie des Indes* quoted in original by Colonel Malleson.

"Finally you threaten, if I refuse compliance, to lead against me your armies in person. I am making ready to receive you well and win your esteem, by showing you with what valour the bravest nation in the world can defend themselves against those who attack them unjustly. Above all I put my trust in Almighty God, before whom the strongest armies are as the straw which the wind blows away. My hope is that He will favour the justice of our cause. I have indeed heard what happened at Bassein, but Bassein was not defended by Frenchmen."

The tone of this letter so surprised Raghuji Bhosle that he sent to Pondicherry an envoy, nominally to repeat the warnings that his letter had conveyed, but really to ascertain what it was upon which M. Dumas relied for a successful defence against such overwhelming odds. M. Dumas received the envoy with that exquisite politeness which is the national inheritance of the French people, shewed him his piles of stores, his ramparts bristling with guns, his French soldiers and his drilled sepoys. He then told the envoy that so long as one Frenchman still lived, the French flag would fly over Pondicherry. "If your master," added M. Dumas, "hopes to find in our town mines of gold or silver, tell him we have none. But it is rich in iron and that iron we are ready to use against all comers." To soften the asperity of the reply, he gave the envoy ten bottles of French liqueurs by way of a present to Raghuji Bhosle. Raghuji Bhosle passed them on to his wife. Although Hindus of all classes are forbidden to touch spirits, Marathas do not obey the prohibition with the same strictness as Brahmans; and the insinuating Frenchman had disguised the alcoholic nature of the liqueurs under the insidious name of "Nantes cordials." Raghuji's wife tried the liqueurs, then tried and tried again. Nor will it surprise any one acquainted with their taste, that the more she drank, the more she liked them and saw with increasing dismay their rapidly approaching end. She implored, nay, insisted that her husband should obtain

a further supply by making friends with the French of Pondicherry. Raghuji Bhosle had been greatly struck by the envoy's report of the dauntless bearing of Dumas and his soldiers. He began to open negotiations and hinted after much circumlocution that a further present of "Nantes cordials" would make for peace. Dumas sent him thirty more bottles. This time Raghuji Bhosle tried the liqueurs himself and saw how just had been his wife's appreciation. He at once withdrew his demands and with his army returned to Satara, deeply impressed by the valour of France's sons and won to her cause by the golden produce of her vineyards.

CHAPTER XLV

THE MARATHAS INVADE BENGAL. AHMAD SHAH INVADES INDIA

A. D. 1740 TO 1748

THE great province of Bengal had owing to its remoteness been hitherto saved from the Maratha armies, that had overwhelmed Central India and Guzarat, and had crossed the Jamna and threatened Delhi. From every other point of view except distance, Bengal invited the invader. The vast plains covered with ricefields, traversed by the mightiest rivers of Asia, watered by two monsoons and inhabited by a teeming, unwarlike population had often been the prize of war. From Bengal Sher Shah had driven Humayun out of India. The capture of Bengal had stabilised the throne of Akbar. Its almost inexhaustible wealth had furnished Aurangzib with the means of carrying on the endless warfare of the Deccan. It had now become, like the Deccan, the dominion of an independent prince. During the reign of Aurangzib one Murshid Kuli Khan became at first civil and afterwards military governor of Bengal. He was given the title of Jaffir Khan, but his name of Murshid has survived in the town of Murshidabad, which he founded. He was succeeded by his son-in-law Shujah-ud-Daulat. He was by origin a Turk and he bestowed his friendship on one Mirza Mahomed, who had married his kinswoman. Mirza Mahomed had two sons, Haji Ahmad and Alla Vardi Khan, the Anaverdy Khan of some old-fashioned histories. Both the sons were able and ambitious, but by far the abler was Alla Vardi Khan, who rose after Shujah-ud-daulat's accession to the office of first minister and afterwards to the governorship of Patna. On Shujah-

ud-daulat's death his son Sarafraz Khan succeeded; but in 1740 A. D. Alla Vardi Khan, with the aid of his brother Haji Ahmad, contrived to defeat and kill him and to usurp the viceroyalties of Bengal, Behar and Orissa*. Alla Vardi Khan's worth as a commander was now to be put to a stricter test. Shujah-ud-daulat's son-in-law Murshid Kuli Khan had at first acquiesced and afterwards rebelled against Alla Vardi Khan's usurpation. He was forced to flee the country; but his diwan Mir Habib invited into Bengal Bhaskarpant Kolhatkar, the minister of Raghuji Bhosle. Bhaskarpant accepted the invitation and invaded Behar. He surprised Alla Vardi Khan at Burdwan†. But the usurper abandoned his baggage and refusing to surrender, stubbornly fought his way to a strong position on the banks of the Ganges. Bhaskarpant would then have retired, but Mir Habib implored him to remain and live on the country. He convinced Bhaskarpant of the feasibility of his scheme, by borrowing from him four thousand Maratha horse and with them plundering the factory of one Jagat Shet Alamchand, a wealthy banker, of no less than Rs. 300,000§. Acting on Mir Habib's advice, Bhaskarpant took Hooghly, Midnapur, Rajmahal and all the Bengal districts west of the Ganges except Murshidabad. Alla Vardi Khan, however, rose to the height of the danger. He sent messengers both to the emperor and to the Peshwa asking for help. At the same time he made a daring attack on Bhaskarpant's camp at Cutwa, not far from Plassey. Before the rains had ceased, Alla Vardi Khan crossed the Hooghly and the Aji. In crossing the Aji his bridge of boats broke and he lost six hundred men; but undaunted by this loss he attacked the Marathas and drove them from their camp. Bhaskarpant fled but doubling back, tried to make a stand at Midnapur. Here Alla Vardi Khan came up with him, defeated him and chased

*Siyar-ul-Muta Kherin. †Scott's Deccan, vol. II., p. 313 *et.*

§Scott's Deccan. Grant Duff says that the plunder was 2½ millions sterling. He does not quote his authority.

him across the frontier of Bengal. Alla Vardi Khan now informed the emperor that he no longer needed help and invited Safdar Jang of Oudh, who had come to his aid with a body of imperial troops, to return to his own province. Alla Vardi Khan, however, was not so safe as he fancied, for Raghuji Bhosle hastened from Berar to join Bhaskarpant. Hearing this, Balaji who had received Alla Vardi Khan's message and wished both to appear as an imperial general and to gratify his enmity against Raghuji Bhosle, marched with all haste to the help of Alla Vardi Khan. The latter taught by experience welcomed him gladly. But Balaji leaving his ally far behind, attacked and routed unaided Raghuji Bhosle's army. The latter fled to Nagpur; but Balaji remained in Bengal, plundering the country with as much zeal as if it had been an enemy's province. As a reward for his victory over Raghuji Bhosle, the emperor formally appointed him governor of Malwa. To save the imperial feelings, the deed was made out in the name of Shah Mahomed's son, prince Ahmed. Balaji was appointed as his deputy governor.

It was, however, idle to expect that the Maratha chiefs, whatever their private quarrels might be, would long fight each other to the profit of their Musulman enemies. In 1744 Raghuji Bhosle and Balaji made a secret compact that they should not interfere with each other in their future expeditions. Bengal was to be the preserve of Raghuji Bhosle. The country north of the Narbada was to be plundered by Balaji alone. Thereafter Balaji gave no further help to Alla Vardi Khan. For a time, the usurper resisted Raghuji Bhosle single-handed. In 1745 Bhaskarpant, at the head of twenty thousand Maratha horse demanded a sum equal to that paid by Alla Vardi Khan to Balaji for his assistance. Alla Vardi Khan, unable to meet Bhaskarpant in the field, begged him to come to his tents and there discuss the amount of the indemnity and the manner of payment. Bhaskarpant, not suspecting treachery, accepted the invitation and moved his army

close to Alla Vardi Khan's camp and waited on Alla Vardi Khan. The latter received the trusting Brahman in a tent, of which the inside was surrounded by screens. Behind the screens were hidden a band of assassins. At the cry of "Cut down the infidel", the concerted signal, they rushed from behind the screens and murdered Bhaskarpant and no less than nineteen out of twenty officers with him. One only, Raghuji Gaikvad, escaped. At once Alla Vardi Khan ordered a general attack on the Maratha army. Taken by surprise, it had great difficulty in effecting its retreat under the leadership of Raghuji Gaikvad.

The treachery of Alla Vardi Khan might have had greater results, but for the insurrection of one Mustapha Khan, to whom Alla Vardi Khan had first promised and then refused the government of Behar. Mustapha Khan implored Raghuji Bhosle again to invade Bengal. Alla Vardi Khan attacked Mustapha Khan vigorously and deceived Raghuji Bhosle by pretended negotiations. When Mustapha Khan had fallen in the field, Alla Vardi Khan sent Raghuji Bhosle the following ridiculous letter:—

"Those who seek peace from an enemy are guided either by a sense of their own loss or inferiority or hopes of advantage; but praised be God, the heroes of the faith feel no dread of encountering infidels. Peace, therefore, depends upon this — when the lions of Islam shall so engage the monsters of idolatry, that they shall swim in each others' blood and struggle until one party shall be overpowered and beg for quarter."

Raghuji Bhosle saw that he had been fooled. Nevertheless he did not let the letter remain unanswered. He wrote that while he had advanced a thousand miles to meet Alla Vardi Khan, that lion of Islam had not moved a hundred to meet him. Alla Vardi Khan was determined to have the last word and wrote, begging Raghuji Bhosle to refresh his troops during the monsoon, as during the cold weather he, Alla Vardi Khan, meant to wait on him until he had escorted him back to his own frontier.

Raghuji wisely made no further reply, and by means of his light horse, levied the revenues of Burdwan and Orissa. When the rains abated Alla Vardi Khan, true to his promise, attacked and defeated the Maratha general near Cutwa (1745 A. D.). This checked the Marathas for a time; but in 1750 A. D. Alla Vardi Khan found it necessary to cede to Raghuji Bhosle the province of Orissa by way of settlement for the *chauth* of Bengal and Behar*. In this way the Marathas obtained in Bengal the firm footing, still recalled by the ditch that once protected Calcutta and by the word "Ditcher" a name still given to Calcutta steamers.

At this point we must turn again to Northern India, into which a new invader had descended by the same passes that had admitted Nadir Shah. The latter survived the sack of Delhi for seven years. But the cruelties committed by him there, seem to have changed his character from a just, if stern, ruler into a cruel and loathsome tyrant. His last two years were so inhuman that a body of Persian nobles condemned to die next day, took courage from their despair and in the night assassinated him. (June 1747). On Nadir Shah's death the Afghan tribes recovered their independence. The hereditary chief of the Abdali Afghans was one Ahmad Khan. Although only 23 years of age, his valour and capacity had won the rare praises of Nadir Shah.

On the Persian King's death Ahmad Khan extended his influence over the neighbouring tribes and before the end of 1747 was formally crowned king of Kandahar. His coronation was hardly completed when he marched through the Afghan passes into India. His first goal was Peshawar, which stood a few weeks' siege. His second goal was Lahore, which surrendered after little or no resistance. Elated by this easy success, Ahmad Khan, like Nadir Shah, aspired to conquer Delhi. The emperor sent his only son,

* This tribute was called by Raghuji Bhosle 'Mund Katai' or head cutting in memory of Bhaskarpant's assassination.

Prince Ahmad, Kamar-ud-din Khan, Safdar Jang, now viceroy of Oudh, the Raja of Jaipur and others of his generals to stem the fresh tide of invasion. They reached the Sutlej only to learn that Ahmad Shah, as it is now right to call him, had outmarched them and had seized Sirhind with the whole of the prince's baggage. Both armies entrenched themselves and for some days their light horse engaged in constant skirmishes. At length a rocket magazine exploded in Ahmad Shah's camp and caused such a panic that the Afghan chief gave up his projected conquest of Delhi and declaring himself satisfied with the plunder of Sirhind, began to retreat the way he had come (March 1748)*. Prince Ahmad, while about to pursue Ahmad Shah, was recalled to Delhi by the illness of his father. Thereupon Ahmad Shah halted on the Indus and forced the viceroy of the Panjab to promise him a permanent share of the Panjab revenues. In April 1748 Mahomed Shah died and was succeeded by his son, who like his Afghan neighbour assumed the title of Ahmad Shah. The new emperor, alarmed at the vicinity of the Afghan king, invited Nizam-ul-Mulk to be vazir of Delhi. The Nizam, however, was too old and too ill to accept the post, and on the 19th June 1748 he died. His death was followed by a series of complicated events, which greatly favoured the schemes and ambitions of the French.

* Scott's Deccan, vol. II., p. 122. Elphinstone states that Ahmad Shah was defeated in a general attack on the Moghul camp,

CHAPTER XLVI

THE RISE OF THE FRENCH NATION

A. D. 1741 TO 1750

In the last seven years the power of the French had grown beyond all expectation. M. Dumas' defiance of a great and victorious Maratha army had earned him throughout southern India the reputation of a hero. Nizam-ul-mulk sent him a letter of thanks and a dress of honour. Safdar Ali sent him the jewelled armour of his father Dost Ali, three elephants and numerous other presents. The emperor conferred on him the title of Nawab, together with the command of four thousand five hundred cavalry. In 1741 M. Dumas returned to France. He was succeeded by one of the greatest men whom even France, that fruitful mother of heroes, has ever produced. His name was Joseph François Dupleix, who had already, as governor of Chandernagore near Calcutta, given proofs of the most signal capacity. That capacity was soon to be tested to the uttermost. Safdar Ali, whose taxation had made him unpopular, was, on September 2nd 1742, murdered by his brother-in-law Mortiz Ali. Mortiz Ali, however, was unable to profit by the murder, and Nizam-ul-Mulk appointed Anvar-ud-din Khan, a stranger to the family of Sadat-ulla Khan to be the new Nawab of the Carnatic. With this ruler Dupleix established such friendly relations that when in March 1744 war was formally declared between France and England, he successfully applied to Anvar-ud-din Khan for protection against the English. Not daring to fight both the Nawab and the French on land, the English naval commander, Barnet, tried to intercept a French fleet under

La Bourdonnais, who had sailed to Dupleix's assistance. After an indecisive action Barnet withdrew and La Bourdonnais sailed into Pondicherry. Dupleix now began a counteroffensive. In August 1746 La Bourdonnais sailed against Madras. The site of this town had been bought by the English Company from the last Hindu prince who had styled himself king of Vijayanagar. Madras had never been properly fortified and its garrison consisted of three hundred men, of whom only two hundred were fit for duty. On the 21st September it surrendered to La Bourdonnais. The English appealed to Anvar-ud-din Khan for the protection which he had previously accorded to the French against them. Dupleix, however, overcame Anvar-ud-din's scruples by promising to hand over Madras to him. But when the time came for keeping his promise, Dupleix delayed so long that Anvar-ud-din sent his eldest son, Maphuz Khan, with ten thousand men to enforce it. Dupleix ordered the governor, Deprémesnil, to hold the town at all costs. The garrison amounted to five hundred French troops and five hundred of Dumas' sepoys. To reinforce the garrison Dupleix sent a Swiss officer named Paradis with two hundred and thirty Frenchmen and seven hundred sepoys. Maphuz Khan tried to destroy the reinforcement before it reached Madras and with ten thousand men supported by massed batteries, waited for it on the banks of the Adyar. On the morning of the 4th November, 1746, Paradis to his dismay saw this great force in front of him. His orders were to join the Madras garrison and he resolved to cut his way through. Calling on his men to follow him, he plunged into the river and clambered up the other side. The French troops fought as became their nation. But Dumas' sepoys to the astonishment alike of their commander and the enemy fought with no less courage. In a moment the Nawab's guns had changed hands and were pouring volley after volley into Maphuz Khan's troops, who were crowded into St. Thomé, trying to escape. They were all but annihilated. Those who

RAJA SHAHU AND HIS MINISTER BALAJI BAJIRAO

[*To face page* 288].

survived did not halt until they had reached the shelter of Arcot. The historian* of the French in India has justly claimed that this battle was one of the most decisive in the history of that country. Thenceforward it became manifest that there had arisen a new power, whose valour and tactics supplied abundantly their lack of numbers, and whose onset the largest armies might contemplate with dismay.

Dupleix having dispersed the host of the Nawab, determined to drive the English from Fort Saint David, their last refuge on the Coromandel Coast. But before he could achieve his purpose a large English squadron arrived to relieve it. It was now the turn of Dupleix to stand a siege. On the 6th September, 1747, Admiral Boscawen with no less than six thousand men, of whom three thousand seven hundred and twenty were Europeans, sat down before Pondicherry. But the genius of Dupleix soared even higher in adversity than in success. Undaunted by the fall of his best officer, Paradis, he himself took command of the garrison, and although without experience of war, he soon displayed behind the walls of Pondicherry the qualities of a great captain. In vain Boscawen used his energy and skill; in vain the English troops attacked with the proud and stubborn valour of their nation. In vain Boscawen appealed to the neighbouring princes to help him destroy the stronghold of their common enemy. Fruitless alike were skill and experience, eloquence and courage. Fired by Dupleix's example, the French fought in a way, that even they in their long and splendid history have rarely equalled. Overawed by his genius, the neighbouring princes refused to the victorious English either support or supplies. By the 17th October Boscawen had lost a thousand and sixty-five of his best troops and had lost rather than gained ground. The winter rains had begun. Sickness was spreading among his men; and the English admiral had no alternative but to raise the siege and retreat†.

* Colonel Malleson. † Malleson and Orme.

It was at this moment when the reputation of the French had reached the highest point, that the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk gave the fullest scope to the aspiring mind of Dupleix. Nizam-ul-Mulk left six sons, Ghaziuddin, Nasir Jang, Salabat Jang, Nizam Ali, Mahomed Sharif, and Mir Moghul. Nasir Jang was at Aurangabad. In 1741 he had rebelled and his angered father did not wish him to succeed to the crown of the Deccan. The Nizam's favourite was Muzaffir Jang, a daughter's son, and before his death the old statesman had obtained from the emperor a decree, appointing Muzaffir Jang as his successor. But when Nizam-ul-Mulk was dead, Nasir Jang defied the imperial mandate. Seizing his father's treasures, he won over the army and the leading nobles and proclaimed himself subhedar or viceroy of the Deccan. Muzaffir Jang went to Satara to invite King Shahu's assistance. There he met Chanda Sahib, who, ever since the fall of Trichinopoli had been held by the Marathas to a ransom far beyond his means. The prisoner and the exile made common cause and agreed to offer King Shahu great concessions in the south, if he would make Chanda Sahib Nawab of the Carnatic and Muzaffir Jang, viceroy of the Deccan. Before, however, they made definite proposals to the Satara government, Chanda Sahib asked for time to consult Dupleix. The latter on receiving the captive's letter, wrote back that if the two princes would but trust to him rather than Shahu, he would support them and pay Chanda Sahib's ransom. The two princes readily consented, for neither desired save in the last extremity the help of Raghuji Bhosle. Dupleix at once paid to King Shahu Chanda Sahib's ransom of seven lakhs of rupees; and while Chanda Sahib was returning to his home, Dupleix made every preparation to keep his part of the three-sided compact. In July, 1749, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffir Jang with some thirty-six thousand men and a small French contingent under M. d'Auteuil met the army of Anvar-ud-din at the Damalcherry pass where Raghuji Bhosle had

defeated and killed Dost Ali, the father-in-law of Chanda Sahib. With magnificent bravado M. d'Auteuil offered to attack Anvar-ud-din with his unaided contingent. The delighted princes accepted his offer and the gallant French, less than a thousand strong, moved to attack an army of twenty thousand men in position. Twice the French commander fell back under the fire of the Nawab's guns, manned as they were by European adventurers. The second time d'Auteuil fell wounded in the thigh. On his fall his place was taken by a captain worthy of even such a governor as Dupleix. The captain's name was Charles Joseph Patissier, Marquis de Bussy Castelnau. He was born in 1718 at Buçy near Soissons. His father died when he was a child, leaving him a marquis' title but little else. But Louis XV. proclaimed that in the east a French noble might engage in trade without derogating from his order. De Bussy, as he is usually called, went first to the Isle of France and thence sailed with La Bourdonnais to India. He was now 21 years of age. His form was slight but with sinews of steel. He had the superb courage of the French noble and he was in the fulness of youthful vigour. He rallied his wavering lines and for the third time led them to the assault. Under such a leader the French were irresistible. Reserving their fire to the last moment, they shot point-blank into the enemy and dashed over the entrenchments. A moment later the day was theirs. Anvar-ud-din fell to a sepoy's bullet and his army melted away, leaving its guns and baggage as the spoil of the victors.

The French had destroyed the host of the Nawab of the Carnatic, but they had still to reckon with Nasir Jang. He refused to recognise Chanda Sahib and furnished Anvar-ud-din's son Mahomed Ali with twenty thousand men. This force, d'Auteuil, with thirteen hundred French, two thousand five hundred sepoys and a thousand Indian cavalry, attacked on the Pawar river and dispersed without the loss of a single man. Inspired by this second victory,

Dupleix dreamed of conquering not only the Carnatic, but the whole Deccan. His first objective was the conquest of Jinji. This fortress had withstood several assaults led by the great king in person. For eight years it had defied Aurangzib. Since its capture by Zulfikar Khan, its fortifications had been greatly strengthened by Sadat Ulla Khan, Nawab of the Carnatic. With two hundred and fifty Frenchmen, two hundred sepoys and four cannon de Bussy set out to take the strongest fortress in southern India. Mahomed Ali covered its approaches with twelve thousand men. De Bussy at once attacked the covering army and drove it headlong into Jinji, where it deemed itself safe. But against such a commander not even the walls and cannon of an impregnable fortress could offer sure protection. The defences consisted of three great citadels. That night three French detachments, one of which was led by de Bussy, moved out to take the three citadels simultaneously. One by one the redoubts fell into their hands. Each success animated them to fresh efforts and as day broke on the eastern sky, de Bussy was master of the last defences of the fortress. In twenty-four hours he had beaten an army that outnumbered his own by twenty to one, driven it into a stronghold deemed impregnable and at a single assault taken by storm both stronghold and army. As the sun rose, the great captain looked with awe at the stupendous towers, that frowned below him and asked himself by what miracle he had achieved the impossible. As he wondered, there rose above his head to flutter triumphant in the breeze the lily-decked banner of the most brilliant of nations.

Nasir Jang now advanced in person against Jinji. His army numbered twenty-five thousand men, the picked troops of the Deccan. Dupleix sent against him three thousand eight hundred only. But the French were invincible. Nasir Jang was defeated and killed and at Pondicherry Muzaffir Jang proclaimed himself ruler of the Deccan and Dupleix Nawab of the Carnatic. Dupleix in turn resigned

to his ally, Chanda Sahib, the Nawabship. Not long after his elevation to his grandfather's throne, Muzaffir Jang was killed in suppressing a mutiny. The French, now the masters of the kingdom, set up in the dead man's place his uncle Salabat Jang. On June 20th, 1751, Salabat Jang, escorted by de Bussy and a French contingent, entered Aurangabad in triumph and proclaimed himself Nizam-ul-Mulk and autocrat of the Deccan.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE DEATH OF SHAHU AND THE FALL OF THE BHOSLES

A. D. 1749 TO 1750

WHILE the French were thus laying the foundations upon which the English were afterwards to build up their eastern empire, various causes had prevented any action by Shahu's government. The king's last years were embittered by the ceaseless quarrels of his surviving wives Sakwarbai and Sagunabai. In the early years of his reign the king had kept a considerable establishment. As I have already mentioned, he married in the emperor's camp two wives Ambikabai and Savitrabai and took a mistress called Virubai. On his arrival in the Deccan he married two more wives Sakwarbai and Sagunabai. He also took into his zanana two dancing girls Lakshmibai and Sakhu. He had by Sagunabai a legitimate son Sambhaji who died in infancy and a daughter Gajrabai, who married into the Bande family. By his mistress Lakshmibai he had two sons Yesaji and Kusaji, to whom he gave the subha of Shirala in the Satara district. By Virubai he had a daughter Rajasbai, whom the king gave in marriage to one Shankarji Mahadik. The Shahu had always treated Virubai rather as a queen than a concubine and she ruled with a rod of iron over the inmates of the royal zanana. But Virubai died in 1740. By this time both Shahu's earlier wives were dead and mutual hatred divided the two surviving queens Sakwarbai and Sagunabai. The fault was undoubtedly the former's. By nature Sagunabai was mild and forgiving. But she revolted

against the tyranny which the elder queen sought to impose on her. The court took sides for and against the two infuriated ladies, until at last the king had to call in the Peshwa to arbitrate between them*. Shahu's troubles were aggravated by the death of Shripatrao the Pratinidhi, his lifelong friend. Although the king thought fit to follow Bajirao's rather than Shripatrao's policy, it was the latter who won and kept his warm affection. Many stories survive of the relations between the king and his minister, whom his royal master familiarly addressed as Rao. One of them will suffice. Once during an eclipse King Shahu went to bathe at Mahuli, the spot where the waters of the Krishna and the Yenna meet. After his bath King Shahu wished to bestow, according to custom, a gift on some pious Brahman. He could see none near him. Shripatrao, who was at his side said with a smile "I am both pious and a Brahman, make me the gift." Shahu readily complied and bestowed on the ingenious Pratinidhi the sixty acres upon which now stand the village and temples of Vasti Mahuli. Shripatrao died on the 25th November 1746. On his body his faithful wife Radhabai immolated herself. To honour her as well as his dead friend, Shahu paid a visit to the brave lady and with his own hands decked her with jewels before the terrible ordeal. To Shripatrao's office Shahu appointed his younger brother Jagjivan; but he never filled in Shahu's heart the gap caused by the loss of his dearest friend.

Almost at the same time as death robbed Shahu of his beloved companion, his favourite queen Sagunabai died. In July 1746 she complained of internal pains and at her wish the king took her to the temple of Jejuri, where he spent thousands of rupees in ceremonials and in charity. But neither royal gifts nor prayers could move the purpose of the gods and to the king's deep grief Sagunabai on the 25th August 1748 passed away. The death of Sagunabai, no doubt calmed the jealousy of Sakwarbai; but now the

*See Appendix A.

question of Shahu's succession came to distract the poor king's few remaining days. Balaji had on his appointment as Peshwa pledged himself to support the claim of Sambhaji of Kolhapur. This policy, which would have united under one crown the two Bhosle kingdoms, would certainly have been best for the Maratha people. But in spite of their apparent reconciliation Shahu hated Sambhaji and never forgave him his alliance with the Nizam or Udaji Chawan's attempt to assassinate him. Sambhaji, too, had no children. It was, therefore, better to settle in Shahu's lifetime the question once for all, than to pass it on still open to his successor. Sagunabai's first cousin was married to Raghuji Bhosle and she had pressed on Shahu the adoption by herself of Mudhoji Bhosle, Raghuji Bhosle's son. So long as Sagunabai was alive, Sakwarbai stoutly opposed the suggestion; for if acted on, it would have made Sagunabai a more important person than herself. At the same time she actively fomented an intrigue to remove Balaji from the post of first minister. With a creature of her own in office, she could adopt any one she pleased and in his name govern, so long as life lasted, the Maratha empire. Raghuji Bhosle gave her his support; so, too, did the Dabhades and the Gaikwads. Into Shahu's ear she poured a ceaseless torrent of calumny against the Peshwa. She magnified the looseness of his private life, which was not blameless. She talked of his arrogance and ever-growing ambition. "With such a minister," she cried, "what power is left to the king? The royal troops win victories in every quarter of Hindustan and the Carnatic. The plunder fills the coffers of the Peshwa; the barren glory is the sole profit of his master." The king's poverty and indebtedness were her favourite theme. They had been caused by her own folly and extravagance. At the same time it was true that Balaji had by his careful control of the state finances and his own domains not only paid off his fathers's debts, but amassed a large fortune. "Let the king turn Balaji out of his office" whispered the insidious queen "and confiscate

his property, and the royal treasuries will be filled to overflowing." The prospect of getting rid of his debts overcame Shahu's scruples and he sent Govindrao Chitnis to inform Balaji that he was no longer Peshwa. The Deccan party hoped that Balaji would rebel and that then they would be able to unite and overwhelm him. But Balaji was far too astute to play into their hands. He resigned his office without a murmur, confident that he was indispensable. Directly his resignation became known to the confederates, their mutual friendship vanished. No one was either willing to take on his own shoulders the vast burden of the kingdom or to let any one else do so. After some months of futile discord, during which all state business stagnated, Balaji managed to secure an interview with the king. In the course of it he dilated on the dangers of the situation and at the same time offered to pay out of his own pocket the royal debts. This last offer removed all doubts from Shahu's mind. On the 11th April 1747 he went to Balaji's camp and restored to him the robes and dignities of first minister.

Upon Sagunabai's death, Sakwarbai declared herself ready to adopt Mudhoji Bhosle and his adoption in the end was approved by all the conflicting parties. Even the Peshwa saw that it was impossible to win Shahu to the succession of Sambhaji. At Govindrao Chitnis' urgent request, the king formally agreed to adopt Raghuji Bhosle's son. At this point a wholly unexpected event brought the transient armistice to an end. Directly Govindrao Chitnis had left the royal presence, a messenger from Queen Tarabai asked for and obtained an interview. After the ordinary ceremonial courtesies had been exchanged, King Shahu asked the messenger why he came. To the king's surprise the messenger replied that he had been sent to ask the following question. "Why should you adopt an outsider when you have a descendant of Shivaji, ready to succeed you?" The astonished king asked the man's meaning, "I have no son" he said, Sambhaji has no son. Tarabai's

son Shivaji had a baby boy and he died." The messenger then delivered to the king's wondering ears the following verbatim message, entrusted to him by the old queen. "When my son Shivaji died," had said Tarabai "his widow Bhavanibai was pregnant. Three months after her husband's death she gave birth to a son in Panhala. To save the boy from the jealous hatred of Rajasbai, I induced Bhavanibai to entrust her boy to a trustworthy Rajput couple. The wife had just lost her baby, but she still had milk in her breast and she declared herself willing to nurse the royal child in place of her own. The same night I gave the little prince so large a dose of opium, that he passed into a death-like sleep. At midnight I and Bhavanibai began to scream at the top of our voices. When the guard came to ask what the matter was, we told them that the little boy was dead. Afterwards I got leave from Sambhaji to bury the prince's body. As I went, I handed it over to the Rajput's wife. I took a piece of cloth and wrapped it round a loaf and two dead fowls, so as to make the bundle look like my grandson's corpse. I then buried the bundle in a hole in the ground on the slopes of Panhala hill. In this way I deceived the guards and made them think that I had buried Shivaji's son.*

"In the meantime the Rajput and his wife took the baby to Bavade village, where with my permission they told the story to Bhagwantrao Ramchandra†. For five years he provided them with money. A rumour that the prince was still alive reached the ears of Rajasbai, who began a vigorous search for her husband's nephew. To escape detection the Rajput and his wife took the child into the Konkan, where they stayed for two years unmolested. Then the prince's fostermother died. The Rajput thereupon took the boy to Pangaon and obtained the protection of Daryabai Nimbalkar. She hid him in the house of a

*Sardesai III (unpublished) Shivaji died in 1723.

† The son of Ramchandra Nilkanth near Barsi in Sholapur District.

Gondhali or professional ballad-singer in the neighbouring town of Tuljapur. Two years later the Rajput died, but the boy stayed on at Tuljapur and is still there or somewhere in the neighbourhood."

The king could hardly believe his ears. He had Tarabai's own statement recorded in writing by Govindrao Chitnis and he demanded of her what witnesses she could call to support her incredible tale. Tarabai bade her nephew send for Bhagwantrao. The king sent him a message, commanding his instant presence at Satara. On his arrival the king cross-examined him closely and found that in all particulars he supported Tarabai. Even so the king was not satisfied. He bade Jagjivan, the Pratinidhi, take Bhagwantrao to Mahuli, where the Krishna and Yenna rivers join. There Jagjivan was to make Bhagwantrao take water from the holy Krishna in his hand and swear that Tarabai's tale was true. This Bhagwantrao did. The king at last convinced that Tarabai's grandson still lived, sent for Govindrao Chitnis and told him that in view of Tarabai's statement, there could no longer be any question of an adoption. The crown must on his own demise pass to the young prince. Tarabai had given him his grandfather's name Rajaram, but to distinguish him from her husband had inverted the two component parts of his name and had always called him Ramraja, the name by which he is known in history. Sakwarbai, who had hoped as the adoptive mother of a young king to enjoy a long spell of power, burst into a passion of rage. Denouncing Ramraja as an impostor, she wrote to Sambhaji of Kolhapur, begging him to take instant steps to save the kingdom, by adopting Mudhoji Bhosle and by claiming on Shahu's death the whole kingdom of Maharashtra for himself and his adopted son. Nor was her action confined to correspondence. She won over the Pratinidhi, who, in spite of Bhagwantrao's oath, doubted his story and she ordered Yamaji Shivdev, formerly in the employ of Shripatrao, and now her own confidential agent, to assassinate the Peshwa. The plot

failed through Yamaji Shivdev's jealousy of Govindrao Chitnis, whose aid Sakwarbai was also courting. He hired an assassin called Tulaji and at the last moment told him to kill Govindrao Chitnis and not Balaji. But Govindrao, who had been warned of Yamaji Shivdev's design, was armed and ran Tulaji through the body with his sword, before he could strike with his dagger.

On the night of the 15th December King Shahu died. Ever since August of that year he had been confined to his room and at times his wits wandered. Nevertheless on the whole he retained his faculties and often expressed himself concerned about Ramraja's succession. He knew that many of the Deccan nobles, especially Jagjivan the Pratinidhi, were raising troops for the coming struggle and were willing to support either Sambhaji or Sakwarbai as occasion offered. Unknown to Sakwarbai, he urged the Peshwa secretly to assemble a large force near and round Satara, so as to secure the crown for the young prince. On the morning of the 15th December he complained of severe pains and with the sure instinct of a dying man knew that his end had come. He sent for Govindrao Chitnis, told him that after much thought and care he had arrived at the best decision in regard to his successor and bade him help the Peshwa. He next called to his side Balaji and bade him look after the welfare of the kingdom, preserve the Bhosle dynasty and continue the gifts of land that he had made even to the humblest of his followers. He then handed the Peshwa two letters, written as it would seem at different times. In these he conferred on him and his family the post of hereditary first minister. Having done so, he gave Balaji his blessing.*

His earthly affairs settled, Shahu dismissed his ministers and with a mind composed, waited calmly for death. He sprinkled holy ashes over his body and took his rosary between his fingers. He murmured softly the names of Rama, Shiva, Har Har, several times and met his end as

* See Appendix B

became the nephew of Rajaram and the grandson of Shivaji.*

The Peshwa, who had assembled round or near Satara an army of thirty-five thousand men, had for some weeks past halted between several plans. He now acted with the promptitude of Frederick. At dawn a body of cavalry galloped into Satara town, seized Jagjivan Pratinidhi and Yamaji Shivdev and sent them in irons to distant forts. Every street swarmed with the Peshwa's troops and a strong detachment made themselves masters of Satara fort. That evening Balaji called a meeting of the Council with the exception of the Pratinidhi and produced before them the papers given him by the late king. These documents empowered him, as he justly said, to administer the Maratha kingdom on behalf of Ramraja and his descendants. In view of these papers, Balaji declared and the Council agreed that Ramraja was the only possible successor to the late king. Indeed Balaji had already sent a body of troops to escort the new monarch to his capital. Having settled the succession, the next question discussed was the treatment of Sakwarbai. All agreed that she was a turbulent, unmanageable woman. If she were allowed her liberty, she would certainly denounce Ramraja as an impostor, and adopting a son to her dead husband, would with the aid of Sambhaji of Kolhapur embroil the Maratha nation in civil war. On the other hand, the imprisonment of Shahu's queen would deeply offend Maratha sentiment and would give Damaji Gaikvad and other Maratha leaders an excellent excuse for rebellion. One way out of the difficulty presented itself. It had long been the custom in high-born Hindu families for widows to burn themselves on their husband's bodies. Shivaji had with difficulty restrained his mother, Jijabai, from committing *sati* with Shahaji's body. With Shivaji's body Putalabai had committed herself to the flames. The act, too, was one of

*The king died in the Rangmahal. The ruins of this palace are still to be seen below Satara fort.

great religious sanctity. It was believed to confer on the husband immediate release from future rebirths. The Council unanimously resolved that Sakwarbai, as a childless widow, should be pressed to become a *sati* and to burn herself with the dead king. To hide her intrigues, she had publicly given out that she meant to immolate herself; and the Council waiting on her brother, won him over to the view that if she now shrank from the ordeal, she would stain the honour of her house. This course Tarabai also, who detested Sakwarbai as an obstacle to her own ambitions, eagerly supported*.

Sakwarbai had been deeply depressed at the failure of her schemes; and when her brother urged her to commit *sati* and told her that her refusal would brand with cowardice the whole clan of the Shirkes, she had not the firmness to refuse. On the day that her husband's body was to be committed to the flames, she decked herself as became a *sati* in her choicest robes and jewels and attended by music was conveyed on an elephant down the steep path, that leads from Satara fort to Satara city. At the spot where the path meets the road to Mahuli, the meeting place of the Yenna and Krishna rivers, a vast multitude in mourning dress awaited her. When they recognised the widowed queen, there went up to heaven a great cry of "Har Har Mahadev" by way of greeting to her and of invocation to the god Shiva. To prevent any chance of rescue there stood, posted at various points along the road, grim ranks of veterans, whose valour had won battles in Guzarat and on the Narbada and whose torches had fired the suburbs and outskirts of the imperial city. But neither the memory of recent defeat nor the certain prospect of a cruel and lingering death could tame the untameable pride of this daughter of the Shirkes. Her eyes wandered, as if indifferent alike to the past and the

*Chitnis Bakhar. Grant Duff is wrong in placing the entire responsibility of Sakwarbai's 'sati' on the Peshwa. Whatever blame attached to him must be equally shared by the Council.

future, from the mob garbed in white to the frowning walls of the fortress she had left behind; and from the temples along the road to where the mighty hill of Jaranda lowered in front of her. According to popular belief, Jaranda is a fragment that fell from Drona mountain, as the monkey god Hanuman carried it to Lanka, and it seemed now to look down with approval on her act and to beckon her along the path which led to her husband's pyre.

When her elephant's stately steps had traversed the two miles that separate the town from the junction of the two rivers, Sakwarbai dismounted. In her hands she took *Kusa* grass and sesamum seed and turned towards the east and the north, while the Brahman priests repeated several times the mystic word "Om!" She then bowed to the god Narayan and declared that in order to enjoy with the dead king the felicity of heaven, to sanctify both his ancestors and her own and to expiate his sins, she would ascend his funeral pile. As witnesses to her vow, she called aloud on the ten Directions, the Sun, the Moon, on Air, on Ether, on Earth and Water, on her own soul, on Yama the king of Death, and on Day, Night and Twilight. On the pyre was erected a cabin of grass and leaves. Sakwarbai entered it and the corpse of Shahu was placed beside her. Next as if to shew that she had left behind her the petty quarrels of this life, she beckoned to her side the Peshwa Balaji. She gave into his hand her earrings of pearls and rubies; and blessing him, bade him rule the country well and make its people happy*. Last of all she took a lighted candle in either hand and bade her relatives apply their burning torches to the wood stack. On the spot where Sakwarbai met her death the Peshwa Balaji had a stone Shivlinga or sign of the god Shiva built. At one end of it he placed a sculptured image of Sakwarbai. Every evening for a hundred and fifty years the Shivlinga has been honoured by the homage of priests and the offerings of the pious; and any evening the visitor to Satara who cares

*Bombay Government Gazetteer for Satara.

to leave the town and journey to the river may see the rites performed in memory of king Shahu and of his high-spirited queen. Surely for Sakwarbai death had no sting, nor in the blazing pyre was there any victory*.

Greatness cannot be claimed for Shahu. Nevertheless we cannot withhold our admiration, when we consider the difference between the Maratha power as he found it and as he left it. When he ascended the throne, his kingdom was a mere strip of land round Satara fort. When he left it, it completely overshadowed the Moghul empire. If he had no great talents, he possessed sound common sense. He had a kindly nature and a placable temper. He had the wisdom to employ great men and the greater wisdom to give them his entire support. He was a keen huntsman and preferred the pleasures of the chase to the toils of office. But the indolence, which marred his reputation as a ruler, increased the love of his subjects for their kindly prince. Many stories are still told of his lavish generosity; and by his court he used often to be compared with Karna, the open-handed hero of the Mahabharata†.

Those stories which deal with his favourite dog Khandya will probably prove the most interesting to English readers. This animal once saved the king's life by flying at a charging tiger. As a reward Shahu gave it a sanad, conferring on it a seat in his *darbar*, the rank of a jaghirdar and maintained for it from his own private purse a palanquin and a complete set of palanquin bearers. One day he made a humorous and judicious use of Khandya's palanquin. A Maratha noble named Indroji Kadam held a high post in the Moghul army§. He got leave to return to his native village of Supa in the Poona district.

---

*I have described the evening ceremonies performed over the Shivlinga in my book 'The tale of the Tulsi plant'.

†The courtiers used also behind the king's back to call him Bhola Shankar or simple Shiva Shankar is another name for the god Shiva.

§This and the succeeding stories will be found in the Shedgaonkar Bavdekar.

Shahu sent him word that although he was in foreign service, he should as a Maratha pay a formal visit at court. Indroji Kadam on receiving the message, determined to impress with his rank and importance the king and his courtiers. He had his horse shod with silver shoes. He covered his person with jewels, and with a splendid retinue went to visit Shahu. As he rode, his drummers beat their drums and his bandsmen played their flutes and fifes, although it was against oriental etiquette for a noble's band to play within the hearing of the king. Shahu met the situation by putting on plain white cotton clothes, unrelieved by a single ornament. But he loaded his dog Khandya with jewels and sent it in his palanquin to escort his visitor into the royal presence. The Maratha chiefs entered whole-heartedly into the jest and took off their ornaments also. Thus when Indroji Kadam appeared, he and Khandya were the only beings present who wore jewelry. Indroji Kadam was wise enough to accept the rebuke and to admit to the king that a man must be judged not merely by his riches but by his merits.

When Khandya died, the king gave it the funeral to which a *jaghirdar* was entitled. He had its body cremated and its *asthi* or charred bones committed to earth on the banks of the sacred Krishna. Over the *asthi* he erected a monument and on the top put a red stone image of his dog. In the opinion of the vulgar, this tomb became a holy spot and for many years those who wished to come by the desire of their hearts, used to make vows at Khandya's cenotaph. Nor was it unable to protect itself from the usage, which the nobles of Rome dealt out to the ancient monuments of the eternal city. Once a Brahman, so the tale runs, wished to build a house at Mahuli Vasti. For this purpose he stole a number of stones from Khandya's monument. But every time that the building neared completion the walls tumbled down, until the Brahman, reduced to despair, prayed to heaven for divine guidance. As if in answer to his prayer, Khandya appeared to him

in a dream and told him that if he wished to finish the house, he must put back the stolen stones. The Brahman did as he was told and had no further mishap. The monument to Khandya still stands, but the sculptured image on the top is so weather-worn as to be unrecognisable. A small sculpture at the side still preserves the likeness of the hound. There a marvellous beast prances through the ages—awe-inspiring, fear-compelling, tiger-tearing. Surely no dog save that of Odysseus of Ithaca ever had a more enduring memorial.

One day, excited by the chase, king Shahu rode ahead of his companions and found himself close to a small farm where the owner was ploughing his land. The king took the plough from the farmer and ploughed the field himself. Afterwards as a memorial of his visit, he gave the farm as a freehold to his host. Another day he passed through Sangam Mahuli and saw a naked anchorite performing penances by the banks of the Krishna. He told the anchorite to ask for alms; but all the saint would ask for was a piece of *Kambli* or old blanket. The king was so delighted at the anchorite's moderation, that he bestowed on him a neighbouring village, which happened also to bear the name of *Kambli.*

The morning of Shahu's death, Balaji had, as he informed his council, sent messengers to escort Ramraja to Satara. During Shahu's lifetime a quantity of gold-mounted saddles and elephant trappings had been stored at Pangaon for the occasion. The Peshwa now sent there Limbaji Anant and Indroji Kadam with a large body of cavalry. On the way Daryabai Nimbalkar met them with five thousand horse. She asked them for a token and on seeing Tarabai's ring, led them to the house where the prince lived. This imposing array did homage to Shahu's heir and after the two leaders had distributed five thousand rupees among the Gondhalis of Tuljapur who had concealed the prince, they started back with Ramraja to Satara. On the 26th December the cavalcade reached Waduth on the banks of the Krishna

river. There Tarabai joined them and publicly welcomed her grandson. The new king could not, however, enter Satara until such day as the astrologers had pronounced auspicious. After duly taking counsel together, they declared the fourth January a fortunate day. Until it dawned the prince remained on the banks of the Krishna, receiving and returning visits. There, too, the Peshwa's cousin Sadashivrao joined the royal camp. Early on the appointed day Ramraja set out for Satara. The whole town was gay with maypoles and wreaths and hanging garlands of flowers. The streets were red with the coloured liquid which the citizens sprinkled on the roadways and the pavements. The balconies were filled with young married women, waiting to shower down on the young king handfuls of rice and so win for him the favour of the deities. The town echoed to the sound of horns and the shrill singing of the dancing girls. Balaji met Ramraja at the outskirts of the city, seated him on a royal elephant and mounting behind him waved a horsetail over his head. Shambhusing seated himself on Balaji's left and did likewise. On the way Ramraja distributed to the temples as he passed gifts of money and cocoanuts. When he alighted at the palace, beautiful young matrons waved lamps over his head and then leaves of the sacred *nim* tree to scare away the demons from hindering his coronation. Entering the palace, Ramraja prostrated himself before the family gods of the Bhosles and fervently thanked them for having guarded his young life and raised him from a cabin to a throne. He then bathed, was invested by Balaji with the royal robes and crowned with the pomp of Shivaji.

Ramraja was at this time twenty-seven years of age. But Balaji making his inexperience an excuse and relying on King Shahu's deed, informed the young king that he would himself conduct the administration with Tarabai's help. Ramraja offered no objection. He was allowed full freedom of movement in the town of Satara and received a yearly revenue of sixty-five lakhs for his

maintenance and establishment. But if the young king was given little share in the administration of his kingdom, he was not stinted in the matter of wives. No less than three brides were bestowed on him. The eldest was Tukabai of the Mohites of Nevas, the second Jankibai of the Mohites of Ving, the third Sagunabai daughter of Barhanji Mohite.

The Peshwa had taken every precaution that human foresight could conceive. But his situation was so full of dangers that only consummate skill could surmount them. Tarabai's intrigues were a constant menace to Balaji's safety. Old age had not chilled her ambition; and she soon realised that the Peshwa meant merely to use her name and to retain in his own hands the full powers of the state. Again what attitude would Raghuji Bhosle take? Would he denounce Ramraja as an impostor? Would he declare himself independent? Would he join the Nizam in an attack on the Maratha kingdom? The third question which confronted the harassed minister was how to deal with the Pratinidhi. Strictly speaking, Jagjivan's rank was as high as his own. Jagjivan's brother Shripatrao had been the nearest friend of the late king. His father Parashuram Trimbak had been a hero of the War of Independence. To condemn Jagjivan to perpetual imprisonment would cause deep offence to the Maratha nobles and would unite them all against him. Faced by a Deccan party of such formidable strength, the Peshwa would be helpless. Lastly how long would Ramraja suffer his minister to manage his kingdom, with wives and flatterers at his ear, urging him continually to free himself?

While Balaji pondered over these riddles, Raghuji Bhosle arrived in Satara. But years had softened his turbulent spirit and he soon let Balaji know that he would not, if confirmed in his eastern possessions, disturb the peace of the realm. Balaji willingly granted his demands and issued a sanad giving him full powers in Bengal, Berar and Gondwana. He added to these provinces an

unexpected gift. He took from the imprisoned Pratinidhi the jaghir in Berar, which the Nizam had bestowed on Shripatrao and conferred it on Raghuji Bhosle. For form's sake the great noble still questioned Ramraja's origin and demanded that Tarabai in his presence should eat with her grandson. She did so; and satisfied with this evidence, Raghuji declared his entire adherence to the new government.

The Peshwa had hardly weathered this storm, when to his dismay a still fiercer one burst. In the fort of Sinhgad lay the ashes of Rajaram. Over them stood the noble temple reared by the devotion of Ramchandra Bavdekar. To that temple, so Tarabai suddenly announced, his sorrowing widow would repair to spend her remaining days in worshipping at the shrine of her beloved lord. The coronation and marriage ceremonies occupied January and February. In March Tarabai set forth on her pilgrimage to Sinhgad. That great stronghold was in the hands of the Pant Sachiv, Chimnaji the son of Naro Shankar and grandson of Shankar Narayan Gandekar. With courtesy and reverence he received the queen at Sinhgad; but she soon threw off her mask of widowed devotion and successfully incited the Pant Sachiv to denounce the Peshwa and to lead his troops to free from his tutelage the young king of the Marathas. The Peshwa's acute mind had from the first seen through Tarabai's designs and he politely invited her to attend in Poona the weddings of his son Vishvasrao and of his cousin Sadashivrao. Tarabai had no intention of leaving Sinhgad; but she accepted nevertheless the invitation and at the last moment pleaded ill-health. In spite of her absence the Peshwa celebrated the marriages with great splendour. Sadashivrao had already been married to an earlier wife Umabai. She had died on the 22nd March. According to Indian custom, he took very shortly after her death a second wife. On the 26th April he married Parvatibai the daughter of Bhikaji Naik Kolhatkar of Pen. On the 2nd May Vishvasrao married

Lakshmibai, the daughter of Sadashiv Hari Dikshit Patwardhan. Both these young women lived to witness their husbands' deaths in the awful disaster of Panipat.

The wedding festivities over, Balaji resolved to stamp out, before it had time to spread, the sedition of the Pant Sachiv. He demanded the instant presence at Poona of the queen and her accomplice and warned them in menacing tones of the consequences of refusal. Terrified at the unexpected discovery of their plans, the two confederates reluctantly complied. In order to detach Tarabai from her fellow-conspirator, the Peshwa bestowed on her regal honours. When she reached Shivapur, she was met by the Peshwa's brother Raghunathrao and a little later by Balaji himself. On meeting her, the Peshwa presented her with a nazar or tribute of five thousand rupees. He then escorted her with royal state to the mansion of Bapuji Naik in Poona, which he had specially prepared for her reception. The Pant Sachiv was treated with all the formalities due to his rank, until his arrival in Poona. There on the 25th June 1750 he and his son Chitkopant were arrested and imprisoned. On leaving Satara to celebrate his son's marriage, Balaji had entrusted Ramraja to the care of Raghuji Bhosle. With the utmost deference the Peshwa now wrote to the king, begging him to come to Poona to dispose of the case against the Pant Sachiv. As early as March 1750 the young king had begun to shew his jealousy of the minister's power. Writing to a friend on the 26th of that month Balaji had complained that the king squabbled with him over trifles and that he did not know how long the situation would last.* Nevertheless Ramraja was not insensible to the flattery contained in the appeal to the royal tribunal.

*"It is now seven months," wrote Balaji, "that I have been here. In both places disputes arise between me and the Swami (the king) about simple matters. The Swami is weak, I do not know how long we shall be able to work together. So far by great good fortune I have kept the royal favour."

Sardesai (unpublished).

The Peshwa had already decided what punishment the king should impose on the Pant Sachiv. The latter had, it seems, with Shahu's acquiescence, but without any formal sanad occupied the forts of Tung and Tikona and the country round them. The Peshwa's troops issuing from Poona in two columns seized simultaneously Tung, Tikona and Sinhgad. The first two forts were occupied without resistance. Sinhgad had to be stormed by the Peshwa's lieutenant Jivaji Ganesh Khasgiwala. Having made himself master of these three fortresses, the minister advised the king to remove Sinhgad from the Pant Sachiv's control and entrust it to Balaji; and in its place to issue to the disgraced noble formal sanads for Tung and Tikona. The Pant Sachiv bowed to the royal order and obtained his release. Tarabai, her scheme brought to nought, went nursing her anger to Satara fort, resolved at no matter what cost to avenge the defeat which she had just suffered.

Having thus baffled the old queen, the Peshwa turned his attention to the Pratinidhi. At Ramraja's coronation Jagjivan the Pratinidhi was still in prison and to punish him for his adhesion to Sakwarbai, he was degraded from his office and his brother Bhavanrao raised to it instead. When Raghuji Bhosle escorted Ramraja to Poona, he interceded for the unlucky noble and obtained from the Peshwa a reluctant consent to his release. Balaji, however, was determined not to restore Jagjivan to the Pratinidhi-ship and was also resolved to render for the future the occupant of that office harmless. He ordered Jagjivan to surrender all his possessions. Jagjivan sullenly acquisced and sent Yamaji Shivdev to arrange for the rendition of Sangola* and Mangalvedhe, the chief strongholds of the Pratinidhi's power. Yamaji Shivdev, however, had no intention of handing over to the Peshwa his former master's lands. He decided to oppose Balaji by force of arms and in the end to yield to Ramraja in person. In this way he hoped to foment such ill-feeling as existed

*Sangola is in the Sholapur district.

between the king and the minister. The plan was well conceived. Fearing some fresh plot of Tarabai, Balaji did not dare leave Poona. He was, therefore, forced to send the king to reduce the rebel. But with him he sent his own cousin Sadashivrao. The latter was in the flower of his age. His person was strikingly handsome and he had won a high reputation for courage in the Carnatic. At a later date his military mistakes caused the greatest calamity that ever befell the Maratha people. He now served the Peshwa with skill and fidelity. He drove Yamaji Shivdev into Sangola fort and attacked it with such ardour that on Dasara day, the 29th September 1750, Yamaji Shivdev was forced to ask for terms. Sadashivrao would grant none. All he would promise was that on Yamaji Shivdev's unconditional surrender, he would obtain the release of Jagjivan Pratinidhi, who had again been arrested on Yamaji Shivdev's revolt. The rebel had no alternative but to submit. Sadashivrao sent for Bhavanrao and got the king to confirm publicly Bhavanrao's previous appointment as Pratinidhi. He then advised the king to strip the family of Sangola and Mangalvedhe and confer them on Ranoji Mohite, a Maratha officer in whom Balaji had confidence. (October 1750.)

The new king was thus firmly established on his throne. He had taught the Pant Sachiv and the Pratinidhi lessons, not likely to be lost on other Maratha officers; and he now formally appointed after the manner of his predecessors his council of state.

(1) The first minister was Balaji to whom was accorded the title of Pant Pradhan.
(2) The Pratinidhi was Bhavanrao.
(3) The commander-in-chiefship was taken from Yashwantrao Dabhade, whom drunkenness and vice had made incapable of performing his duties and given to his son Trimbakrao.
(4) The Nyayadhish was Khanderao Kashi.
(5) The Panditrao was Dhondbhat Upadhye.

(6) The Mantri was Ghanashyam Narayan.
(7) The Pant Sachiv was Chimnaji Narayan.
(8) The Amatya was Bhagwantrao son of Ramchandra Nilkanth.
(9) The Sumant was Vithalrao Anandrao.

Besides these Tulaji Angre was appointed Sarkhel or admiral of the fleet and Govindrao Chitnis and Ramrao Jivaji were the king's private secretaries. Everything indeed pointed to a long and prosperous reign and Balaji saw with apprehension the probable revival of the kingly power. Suddenly and without warning these fair hopes vanished utterly.

Tarabai's design had from the first been to restore the conditions which prevailed, when she ruled in the name of her idiot son Shivaji. It was with this object that she had demanded the *sati* of Sakwarbai, so that no son adopted by the younger queen, might stand between her and her unslaked ambitions. She had hoped that gratitude and inexperience would always keep Ramraja under her authority and that through him she would crush the first minister and become in fact, if not in name, the autocrat of the kingdom. She saw with bitter anger the failure of her plot against the Peshwa and with utter disgust the rising prestige of the young king. There was only one way in which she could attain to the power for which she thirsted. If she could seize Ramraja's person, rally in his name the Maratha nobles, the Pratinidhi and Pant Sachiv against the Peshwa, she might still become once again the mistress of Maharashtra. She laid her plans with unscrupulous skill. Under the pretence of an intended visit to the shrine of Shambhu Mahadev, not far from Satara, she obtained admittance to the fort. As early as the 15th and 20th September she had sent letters to Sheikh Mira, who was still commandant, ordering him to collect an abundance of supplies and munitions. On her arrival, she won to her cause, by means of her own commanding presence and large gifts of money, the karkhanis and the other chief

officers of the fort. On the 17th November the unsuspecting Ramraja came to Satara town, flushed with his successes at Mangalvedhe and Sangola. With him were Govindrao Bapuji Chitnis and Trimbak Sadashiv Purandare with a large force of cavalry. On the 23rd November Tarabai asked her grandson to visit her in the fort. When he had entered the palace and exchanged the usual formal courtesies, she took him on one side and pressed him with vehemence to summon the Pratinidhi and with his help and that of the Deccan party, to dismiss from his office Balaji and with him, all his friends and satellites. Ramraja, who realised how insecure his throne really was and how dangerous such an adventure would be, demurred. The old queen grew very angry and let her grandson go without further conversation. Fortunately for the king, he had with him a strong guard. Their leader Bapuji Khanderao so grouped them round the royal palanquin, that Tarabai shewed her displeasure only by her angry looks. The next day was the feast day of Champasashthi.

It is the custom for Deshasth Brahmans and Marathas to observe the Champasashthi festival every year in honour of the god Khandoba's victory over the demon Malla, already described by me in an earlier chapter*. The festival begins on the bright half of the Hindu month of Margshirsha. The images of Khandoba and Malla are cleaned and worshipped, while priests repeat *mantras* or holy sayings. For six days a fast is observed. On the seventh day the worshippers break their fast by a feast known as the Champasashthiche parne. An invitation to this feast is regarded as an invitation from the god Khandoba himself and is even harder to refuse than an invitation to a Christmas dinner in an English family. Early in the morning Tarabai sent her servants with a message to the king, begging him to spend the holiday with his grandmother. The message was couched in most affectionate terms. Nevertheless Bapuji Khanderao, remembering the furious looks of the

* Chapter 35.

old queen and the fierce glances of her officers on the previous day, implored his master not to go. Ramraja at first excused himself. Tarabai's servants well drilled by their mistress, expressed wounded surprise at the king's refusal and his implied distrust. "Were the king's suspicions," they asked with feigned mortification, "a fitting reward for the care which Tarabai had lavished on him in his childhood? Would she have saved his life as an infant, if she meant to kill him as a man? Would she have raised him to the throne, if she intended to depose him a few months later?" They painted with consummate skill a pathetic picture of the old queen surrounded by enemies of state and deserted on that auspicious day by the children of her own house. The king bewildered by their subtle argument was at a loss what to do. He put off his decision. Then giving his guards the slip, he resolved to shew his confidence in Tarabai by going unattended to Satara fort. An hour or so after the king had ridden alone up the bridle path that leads to the northern gate, Bapuji Khanderao heard of his master's act. Calling his men, he galloped at full speed after him. He found the gates closed; and the sentries warned him through the loopholes to return or they would fire on him and his men. The brave soldier with his handful of guardsmen could not hope to storm the great fortress. He returned sadly the way he had come.

In the meantime Tarabai had given the king a fond welcome, had feasted him and effectually removed from his heart all traces of suspicion. When it was time for him to go, she bade him an affectionate good-bye. Ramraja mounted his horse, smiling to think how idle had been his subordinate's fears and rode towards the gate. He found it shut and swarming with the queen's soldiers. He ordered them to let him through. They insolently replied that the Maharani had commanded them not to let him leave the fort. The historian of the French Revolution has asserted that if at Varennes Louis the Sixteenth had, as his ancestor

Henri IV would have done, drawn his sword and defied the frontier guards to touch the son of Saint Louis, he would have passed safely through to his friends across the border. Had Ramraja drawn his sword and commanded at their peril the soldiers of Tarabai to open the gates and let him through, probably not one among them would have dared lay a finger on the grandson of Rajaram and the lineal descendant of the great king. But just as the heart of the Béarnais did not beat within the breast of Louis, so the spirit of his great-grandfather had no place in the bosom of Ramraja. A childhood spent in squalid surroundings, a youth passed in the idleness of a vagrant's hut, had not trained the king for the present danger. Instead of forcing his way through Tarabai's guards, he turned his horse and rode back to the palace to ask an explanation of Tarabai. But instead of that malignant beldame, he found the house full of soldiers. He was disarmed, arrested and thrown into a dungeon. From his prison he never again emerged alive. So long as she lived, Tarabai kept her grandson a captive. After her death the Peshwa's power was so firmly seated, that none thought of changing what had become a practice consecrated by time. For sixty-eight years Ramraja and his descendants remained prisoners in Satara fort. As time went on, the rigours of their captivity were softened. A throne was built on the northern bastion and on it the heirs of Shivaji used to sit. In their ears their servants would whisper that their empire extended far beyond the distant line of hills to the waters of the Jumna and the walls of Attock. But in reality their dominion ceased at the parapet, on which rested their indolent feet. Their deliverance was in the end effected by the coming of a foreign power. It opened the prison gates that Tarabai had closed and created a little principality for the fainéant kings of Maharashtra.

The Peshwa has been greatly blamed for having deposed the heir of Shivaji. With what far-sighted prudence he

profited by the turn of events, will be told in a succeeding volume. But the blame surely rests on the Bhosles themselves. It was the quarrels of Tarabai and Shahu that led to the rise of Balaji Vishvanath. It was the sedition of Sambhaji that created the ascendancy of Bajirao. It was the bickerings of Sagunabai and Sakwarbai, the monstrous ambition and inveterate malice of Tarabai that led to the sovereignty of Balaji and the fall of the house of Shivaji. To use the well-known phrase of Napoleon, the first minister did not take the crown from another's brow. He picked it out of the gutter, where it had fallen. But whosesoever the fault, the consequences were certain. With the imprisonment of Ramraja the epic of the Bhosles ended. The Chitpavan epic had begun.

APPENDIX A

RULES DRAWN UP FOR THE GUIDANCE OF THE RANIS BY THE PESHWA AT SHAHU'S REQUEST

1. Neither Rani should quarrel with the other.
2. The Raja should grant to each Rani similar cash allowances and lands.
3. All jaghirs in the occupation of the Ranis without sanads should be surrendered.
4. The Ranis should not requisition supplies of money from towns of districts alienated to zilledars (cavalry soldiers) or mokasdars.
5. The Ranis should not seize lands in other persons' saranjams or jaghirs.
6. The Ranis should not confiscate deshmukhships (village offices) or watans (hereditary village grants of land).
7. Whoever gives one Rani a present of land should make a similar present to the other.
8. The Ranis should not take sides in disputes arising in the capital.
9. The Ranis should not hear suits brought by creditors against their debtors.
10. The Ranis should not levy taxes or tolls.

Both the Ranis have accepted these terms. This should continue for ever.

Parasnis Papers.

APPENDIX B

SHAHU'S TWO LETTERS TO THE PESHWA

To Balaji Pradhan Pandit.

It is hereby ordered that you should command the whole forces. I gave orders to every one else to do this, but none was destined to hold the post. We are ill and are afraid that we shall not recover. The government of the empire must be carried on. Some one of our relatives must continue the dynasty. But bring no one from Kolhapur. We have told everything to Chitnis. He will tell you our wishes. Act accordingly. Be loyal and obedient to the descendants of our house and maintain the court and the nobles. The Chitnis is our faithful servant. In consultation with him preserve our kingdom. Our descendants will not interfere with your office. Be prudent and wise.

To Balaji Pandit Pradhan.

We hereby state that we hope and believe that you will ably conduct the administration of this kingdom. The Chitnis, as I have already told you, is of proven loyalty. Our blessings rest on you! Our successors will continue you in office. Should our successor act otherwise, we hereby bind him with a solemn oath and command him not to do so. Be obedient and loyal to him and protect our kingdom. Nothing more need be said. Be prudent and wise.

Parasnis papers.

APPENDIX C

Letters from Mahadji Purandare to Balaji and Sadashivrao. It throws much light on the state of the court at the close of Shahu's reign. *(Parasnis papers.)*

To Nana (Balaji) and Bhao (Sadashivrao) Peshwa. After compliments, about His Highness' health,

In the afternoon His Highness feels feverish and exhausted. His stomach is all covered with the juice of the marking nut (an application to relieve pain). Though His Highness' health is so poor, the two Ranis are daily quarrelling. This so pains His Highness that he exclaims "It would be far better, if God would end my life!" His Highness neglects his health. He listens to no one. Govindrao and Yeshwantrao spoke about it to His Highness, but he did not answer. From time to time he says "What purpose, does my life serve!"

Last Wednesday Nagojirao Keshavrao was at the court. Raghoram's men put to death a certain debtor. His Highness heard the case and then he observed, "If my servants and guards had been involved and had put Appaji Raghunath to death, what could I have done? It is useless to count on my support or my power. The two Ranis are now supreme. I have no power to stop them from doing anything they want to. They have caused a quarrel between the Kasars (bangle-sellers) and the Parals (a caste). The grocers have all gone on strike and we cannot dissuade them. When the grocers leave the town perhaps the Ranis will give way. If we cannot get any grocery, the maids must cook us a dinner but we do not want to get mixed up in the quarrels of the two shrews. We wanted to see Gajrabai living happily with her husband. But the elder Rani threatens her son-in-law. From this her behaviour towards others may be judged. We have become powerless." These were His Highness' words. In short His Highness is powerless against his Ranis. Such is the state of things here. For the last three or four days the money-lenders are visiting the palace. "We are bankrupt" they shout, "We want our money." His Highness fears that if they sit dharna* he will be at his wit's end. Both the Ranis keep talking about the king's debts and the money-lenders. Bad times are coming. We must wait and see how the Ranis' quarrels will end.

---

*To sit dharna is to starve oneself until one's debt is paid.

INDEX

A

Abaji Joshi of Baramati, 181.
Abaji Sondev, 61.
Abdul Rahman, 241.
Abdulla Khan, 39; Governor of Allahabad, 161; at Fatehpur Sikri, 172; imprisoned, 173; death 176.
Abdur Razzak, 35; 39.
Abhai Sing, 217; captures Baroda, 218.
Abu Hussein, 26; abandons Haidarabad, 28; imprisoned at Daulatabad, 40.
Abu Khair Khan, governor of Rajgad, 80.
Abyssinian fleet, 10.
Adarki, 150.
Adyar, river, 288.
Ahmad, Prince, succeeds Mahomed Shah, 286.
Ahmadabad, 178.
Ahmad Khan, King of Kandahar, takes Delhi and Peshawar, 285, 286.
Ahmadnagar, 10, 118.
Ajit Sing, 166.
Ajit Sing, son of Jaswant Sing, 8.
Akalkot, 125.
Akanna Pant, 129.
Akbar, 8; letter to Sambhaji, 12; at Goa, 15; death, 33.
Akka, 64, 128.
Akluj, 49, 54.
Alaknanda, river, 49.
Alam Ali Khan, 170; defeated at Balapur, 171; death, 172.
Ali Bahadur, son of Shamsher Bahadur, 267.
Ali Mardan Khan, 84.
Alla Vardi Khan, son of Mirza Mahomed, 281; defeats Bhaskarpant Kolhatkar, 282.
Alvor, Count, 14.
Ambaji Pandit, at Bijapur, 24,
Ambaji Purandare, 149, 157; imprisoned, 152.
Ambargaon, 252.
Ambavadi, 144.
Ambikabai, 78; daughter of Shivaji, 44; death, 105.
Amir Khan, 223.
Amritrao Kadam Bande, 124.
Anaji, 113.
Anapurnabai, wife of Chimnaji Appa, 270.
Anaverdy Khan, 281.
Angarwadi, 154.
Anjango, 204.
Anjur, 251.
Annaji Dattu, 3; death, 9.
Antaji, 181.
Antaji Raghunath, 251.
Antaji Trimal, 151.
Anubai, 181.
Anvar-ud-din Khan, Nawab of the Carnatic, 287.
Anvar-ud-din Khan, attacked by d'Auteuil, 290; death, 291.
Anwar Khan, 170.
Appajirao Pingle, son of Bahiru Pingle, 263.
Arcot, 275, 289.
Arnala, fort, 252.
Asad Khan, 46, 84, 161; seeks peace, 91.
Asirgad, 252, falls to Nizam-ul-Mulk, 170.
Atole, 79.
Attock, 63.
Aundh, 81.
Aurangabad, Salabat Jang at, 293.
Aurangzib, 1; goes to Deccan, 7; sons, 18; daughters, 19; Sikandar Adil Shah's letter, 32; marches on Golconda, 35; at Tulapur, 56, 67; captures Shivaji and Yesubai; Raygad and Panhala, 69; advised to cease war, 91; at Brahmapuri, 96; captures Vasantgad, 98; at Satara, 99; Satara surrenders to, 101; at Wardhangad, 108; at Sinhgad, 109; breaks negotiations with Marathas, 112; leaves the Deccan, 113; at Ahmadnagar, 118; death, 119.
Avaji, son of Balaji Avaji, 2.
Avaji Kavade, 271.
Azam Shah, 17, 37, 99; invades Rajputana, 8; Governor of Ujjain, 108; Governor of Central India, 120; death, 122.
Azim Tara, Satara re-named, 102.
Azimushan, 212; death, 159.

B

Babaji Bhosle, 77.
Babuji Joshi, 272.
Bagabai, daughter of Chimnaji Appa, 270.
Baglan, 97.
Baglan forest, 163.
Bahadurpur, 7.
Bahadur Shah, emperor, 122.
Bahadur Shah, King of Guzarat, 244.
Bahirji Ingle, 2.
Bahiro Pingle, defeated by Kanhoji Angre, 155.
Bajirao, 181, 191; first minister 183; defeats Nizam-ul-Mulk, 189, 232; defeats Trimbakrao Dabhade, 193; Treaty with Nizam, 212; defeats Mahomed Bangash 216; attacks Muzaffir Khan, 220; plunders Delhi, 223; letter to Chimnaji Appa, 226; Nadir Shah's letter to, 236; retakes Raygad, 242; defeats Sambhaji Angre, 249; at Poona, 252, 264; death of, 266; sons, 266; monument of 268.
Balaji, son of Bajirao 259; appointed Peshwa, 273; defeats Raghuji Bhosle, 283; removed from office and reinstated 297; plot against his life, 299; seizes Satara, 301; Pant Pradhan, 312.
Balaji Avaji, 2, 61.
Balaji Avaji Chitnis, 9.
Balaji Mahadev, 147.
Balaji Naik, 181.
Balaji Vishvanath, attacked by Chandrasen Jadhav, 149; raises army, 150; imprisoned by Damaji Thorat, 152, defeats Krishnarao of Khatao, 153; meets Kanhoji Angre at Lonavla, 155; defeats Damaji Thorat, 157; returns to Satara, 169; death, 179; family, 181.
Balaji Vishvanath Bhat, 145; escapes from the Sidis, 146.
Balapur, 171.
Bandra, 251; attacked by Marathas, 253.
Bangalore, fall of, 45; Rajaram at, 73.
Bankaji Naik, 242.
Bapuji Khanderao, 314.
Bardes, 19.
Bardwan, 282.
Barnet, English naval commander, 287.
Baroda, captured by Abhai Sing, 218.
Barra Sahib, invades Madura, 275.
Bassein, 246; Marathas capture, 258.
Bednur, 73.
Behar, invaded 282.
Belapur, 251.
Belgaum, 18.
Bendal, English commander, 33,
Bengal, 281.
Berar, Rajaram at, 97.
Berlew, captain, 205.
Bhagwantrao Ramchandra, 196, 298.
Bhagwantrao the Amatya, 313.
Bhalerai, spear rule, 77.
Bhaskarpant Kolhatkar, invades Behar, 282; death 284.
Bhat Peshwas, origin of, 147.
Bhausingrao Toke, 193.
Bhavani, 63.
Bhavanrao, brother of Jagjivan, 311; Pratinidhi, 312.
Bhav Phond, 141.
Bhawanibai, wife of Shivaji, 106, 298.
Bhid, 103.
Bhima river, 56, 96.
Bhivaji Gujar, 154.
Bhojraj, 185.
Bhopal, 231.
Bhosle, house of, 2.
Bhrigu, or Brigu, 24.
Bhrigulanchan, legend, 25.
Bhuibai, 181; wife of Babuji Joshi, 272.
Bijapur, 1.
Bijapur, 47; surrenders, 30; recaptured by Moghuls, 48.
Birwadi, river, 43.
Bombay, ceded to Portuguese, 245.
Bom Gesu, 16.
Boone, Mr. Charles, 205.
Boscawen, Admiral, 289.
Botelho, Luis, 250.
Bourchier, Mr., 202.
Brahmapuri, 96; renamed Islampuri, 98.
Brahmendraswami, 237; quarrels with Sat Sidi, 238; retires to Dhavadshi, 240.
Broach, Maratha cavalry at, 24.
Bundelkhand, occupied by Mahomed Khan Bangash, 215.
Burhanpur, 124, 189; falls to Nizam-ul-Mulk, 180.

C

Cambay, plains of, 179.
Canjeveram, 46.
Carnatic, 45; Dupleix, Nawab of, 292.
Caveripak, 83.
Central Provinces, 79.

Chabilaram, 212.
Chakan, 23; taken by Dhanaji Jadav, 122.
Chambhar Tekadi, 99.
Champasashthi, feast of, 314.
Chanda Sahib, 274; surrenders to Marathas, 276; liberated by Shahu, 290; Nawab of the Carnatic, 293.
Chandan Wandan, 108; surrenders to Shahu, 126; Shahu at, 131.
Chandrasen Jadhav, 145, 148, 170, 187; attacks Balaji Vishvanath, 149; defeated at Adarki, 150.
Chaphal, 263.
Chapora, 16.
Chatrasal, Raja, 215, 225; death 217.
Chaul, 14, 245; ceded to Marathas, 259.
Child, Sir John, 202.
Chimnaji Appa, 181, 183, 190, 213, 259; wife and son, 191; death, 269; imprisoned at Poona, 310; released, 311.
Chimnaji Damodar, joins Shahu, 124.
Chimnaji Narayan, Pant Sachiv, 313.
Chinchu, 252.
Chin Kulich Khan, 160, 166.
Chiplun, 242.
Chitnis, family, 12.
Chown, Mr., 204.
Cockburn, Captain, 208.
Colar, 45.
Collet, Captain, 205.
Coromandel Coast, 289.
Cowan, Robert, 247.
Cuddalore, 203.
Cuddapa, 46.
Cumbarim, 15.
Cunho, Nuno de, 245.
Cutwa, 282.

D

Dabhade, 96.
Dabhai, battle of, 192.
Dadaji Raghunath, 11.
da Gama, John Saldanha, 247.
Dahanu, 252.
Dakore, 218.
Damaji Gaikvad, 192, 220, 241.
Damaji Thorat, 143, 152; defeats Naro Shankar, 156.
Damalcherry pass, 274, 290.
Danda Rajpuri, 146.
Daryabai Nimbalkar, 298, 306.
da Silveira, Martinho, 255; death, 257.
Daud Khan, 87, 123, 162; enters Jinji, 89.
Daudkhanis, 41.
Daulatabad, 40, 60, 147.
d'Auteuil, M., attacks Anvar-ud-din, 290; defeats Mahomed Ali, 291.
Daya Bahadur, 214.
Dayaram, 212.
de Bussy Castelnau, Marquis, 291; captures Jinji, 292.
de Castro, Manuel, 206; court martialled, 207.
Deccan, Muzaffir Jang, Nawab of, 292.
Deccan Party, 182.
de Ceatano, Luis, 256.
de la Haye M., admiral, 276.
Delhi, Mahomed Shah crowned at, 168; Bajirao at, 223; plundered by Nadir Shah, 234; captured by Ahmad Shah, 285.
de Mello, Pedro, 254; death, 255.
Deprémesnil, governor of Madras, 288.
de Tavora, Francesco, viceroy, 13.
Dhanaji Jadav, 60, 111, 147; commanding Marathas, 67; leaves Phaltan, 69; leaves Vishalgad, 72; plans murder of Santaji Ghorpade, 91; defeats Lodi Khan, 122; joins Shahu, 126; Shahu's commander-in-chief, 128; death, 145.
Dhar, 213.
Dharavi, 251.
Dhodsa, 8.
Dhondbhat Upadhye, Panditrao, 312.
Dilavar Khan, 170; defeated by Nizam-ul-Mulk, 171.
Diler Khan, 23.
Din, 245.
Diwan-i-Aam, 41.
Diwan-i-Khas, 41.
Dohad, 176.
Dost Ali, 274; father-in-law of Chanda Sahib, 291.
Dudheri, fort, 86.
Dumas, M., refuses Raghuji's terms, 278; returns to France, 287.
Dupleix, Joseph François, 287; defends Pondicherry, 289; nawab of the Carnatic, 292.
Dutch attacked Viziadurg, 210.

E

East India Company, 202.

English, in Surat, 9; attack Kanhoji Angre, 205; attack Khanderi, 206; attack Kolaba, 210; aid Sidis, 243; support Manaji, 260; obtain peace with Marathas, 261; attack Pondicherry, 289.
English pirates, 208.
Ewaz Khan, 188.

F

Farakhsir, 161; death, 167.
Fateh Jang, 55.
Fatehpur Sikri, 13, 172.
Fatehsing Bhosle, 182, 241; adopted by Shahu, 125; defeated by Nizam-ul-Mulk, 187.
Fateh Ulla Khan, 109.
Firoz Jang, 26; night attack on Golconda, 37; advances against Santaji Ghorpade 92.
Fletcher, Captain, 203.
Froes, Antonio Cardim, 253.

G

Gadadhar Pralhad, 128.
Gaikvad, origin, 177.
Gajendra, legend, 215.
Gajendragad, 45.
Gajrabai, daughter of Shahu, 294.
Gangadhar Rangnath, 58.
Gangadharnaik Onkar, 270.
Ganges, legend of the, 164.
Ganoji Shirke, 88.
Ganpati, Bajirao's family god, 269.
George I, King, 208.
Ghalmota, 67.
Ghanashyam Narayan, Mantri, 313.
Ghanashyam Narayan Shenvi, 147.
Gharapuri, 251.
Ghatge of Ragal, 71.
Ghaus Khan, 170.
Ghazi-ud-din, 231,
Ghaziuddin, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, 290.
Ghorbandar, fort, 251.
Gifford, Mr. 204.,
Girgoji Jadhav, 151.
Giridhar, Raja, 185, 212; death, 214.
Golconda, 1, 34, 35, 46; entered by Moghuls, 39; recaptured by Moghuls 48.
Goa, 13; siege raised, 17; Marathas besiege, 259.
Godavari valley, 97.
Gooti, 76.
Gondwana, 123.
Gopikabai, wife of Dhanaji Jadhav, 148.
Gopikabai, wife of Balaji, 272.
Gordon, Captain, mission to Shahu, 260.
Govind Ballal Kher, 225.
Govindpant Bandela, 225.
Govindrao Bapaji Chitnis, 314.
Govindrao Chitnis, 149, 313; peshwa, 297; kills Tulaji, 300.
Grantham, Sir Thomas, 203.
Gulbarga, 34.
Guzarat, 123, 173.

H

Hafbatrao Nimbalkar, 125 148; governor of Godavari, 97; defeats Chandrasen, 150; [188.
Haidarabad, 28; Nizam's headquarters,
Haidar Kuli Khan, 173.
Haji Ahmad, son of Mirza Mahomed, 281.
Haji Fazil, 33.
Haldane, Captain, 243.
Hambirrao Mohite, 20, 43, 63; at Patdi, 22; death, 48.
Hamid Khan, 176; defeated, 178.
Hamid-ud-din Khan, 17.
Hanmante, 128.
Hanmantes, genealogical tree, 90.
Harihar, 146.
Hari Mahadev, 147.
Harji Mahadik, 44, 72.
Harji Raje Mahadik, 61.
Hasanpur, 7.
Himat Khan, 86.
Hingangaon, 152.
Hiroji Farzand, 2; death, 9.
Hooghly, 282.
Horne, John, governor of Bombay, 252.
Hubli, 203.
Humayun, 122, 245.
Hunhu, 215.
Hussein Ali Khan, 10, 98; governor of Behar, 161; defeats Daud Khan, 162; death, 172.
Huuhu, 215.

I

Ibrahim Khan, 35; deserts to Khan Jehan, 28.

Iklas Khan, 50.
Inchbird, Captain, 260.
Indradyumna, legend, 215.
Indroji Kadam, 304; at Pangaon, 306.
Indryani, river, 56.
Ismail Khan, 83.
Itikad Khan, 166, 171; at Raygad, 67.

J

Jagat Shet Alamchand, 282.
Jagjivan, pratinidhi, 295.
Jahanara, 70.
Jai Sing, raja of Jaipur, 167.
Jaju, 122.
Jalna, 98, 189.
Jamdatal Mulk, 82.
Janardhan, son of Bajirao, 266.
Janardhan Hanmante, appointed finance minister, 75.
Janardanpant Hanmante, 43; brother of Raghunath Hanmante, 2; captured 3.
Janjira, 9, 240; Sambhaji at, 10; Dadaji Raghunath at, 11,
Jankibai, Rammaja's wife, 308.
Jannisar Khan, deserts to Hussein Ali Khan, 165.
Janoji Vishvanath Bhat, death, 146.
Jaswant Sing, Raja, 7.
Jawaji Dabhade, death, 193.
Jehandar Shah, defeated by Farukhsir, 161.
Jejuri, 68, 205; Shahu at, 156.
Jetpur, 216.
Jijabai, 60; Sambhaji's wife, 195; prisoner, 196.
Jinji, capital of the Marathas, 74; besieged by Zulfikar Khan, 79; armistice, 85; surrenders, 89; falls to the French, 292.
Jivaji Ganesh Khasgivala, 311.
Jivaji Raje Bhosle, 105.
Jiwai, 185.
Jodhpur, invaded by Damaji Gaikvad, 220.
Johnson, Sir Robert, 208.
Jyotaji Kesarkar, 123.

K

Kaim Khan, 216.
Kalasha, 42; Sambhaji's chief executive officer, 20; captured, 51; brought to Akluj, 54; death, 57.
Kalpi, 217.
Kalyan, 154.
Kamar-ud-din Khan, 286.
Kam Baksh, 34, 82, 111; imprisoned in Bhindwasni, 85; death, 122.
Kanakgiri, 60.
Kanhoji Angre, 94, 146, 154, 203; admiral, 142; defeats Bahiro Pingle, 155; attacks English ship, 204; sons of, 248.
Kanhoji Bhadwalkar, commandant of Raygad, 2; arrested, 3.
Kantaji Kadam Bande, 176, 186, 190, 192.
Kapadwanj, 176.
Kapshi, 45.
Karanja, 99, 251.
Karbela, 39.
Karhad, Shahu and Sambhaji meet at, 197.
Kashibai, Bajirao's wife, 265; death, 266.
Kasim Khan, 85; death, 86.
Keigwin, Captain, 202.
Kelve, 251.
Keshav Pandit Adhyaksh, 58.
Keshav Pingle, 45; captures Santaji, 47.
Khan Dauran, 214, 221; death, 233.
Khanderao Dabhade, 60, 97, 110, 148, 170; leaves Vishalgad, 72; defeats Zulfikar Beg, 163; family, 179; retires to Talegaon, 181; death, 182.
Khanderao Kashi Nyayadhish, 312.
Khanderi, 154, 203; English attack, 206.
Khandesh, 17, 79; Sambhaji attacks, 6; Rajaram at, 97; falls to Nizam-ul-Mulk, 170.
Khandoba, legend of, 157.
Khando Ballal Chitnis, 60, 87; leaves Vishalgad, 72, plans escape from Bangalore, 73.
Khandoji Gujar, 71.
Khandya, Shahu's dog, 304.
Khan Jaman, 55.
Khan Jehan, 6; sent against Abu Hussein, 27.
Khawaspur, 108.
Khed, 126.
Khem Savant, 141.
Khosal, 160.
Kinhai, 81.
Kokar Khan, 83.
Kokarmanda, 124.
Kolaba, 154; English attack, 209; attack repulsed, 210.

Kolhapur, 2; capital of the Marathas, 141.
Kondaji Farzand, 10.
Konkan, 49.
Kotha, Raja of, 231.
Kothla, fort, 249.
Krishnarao of Khatao, 142; defeated by Balaji, 153.
Krishnaji, legend, 81.
Krishnaji Bhaskar Pandit, at Vishalgad, 95.
Krishnaji Dada Deshpande, letter from Sambhaji, 66
Krishna valley, 48.
Kulich Khan, 36.
Kusaji, 294.
Kutb Shahi, 26.
Kutub Minar, 223.

L

La Bourdonnais, 288.
Lakhaji Jadav, 60.
Lakkam Savant, 141.
Lakshmibai, 294; wife of Vishvasrao, 310.
Lal Koor, 160.
Law, Stephen, assists Portuguese, 257.
Limbaji Anant, 306.
Lodi Khan, 122.
Lohgad, 154.
Lokhande, headman of Parad, 125.
Loyala, Ignatius, 16

M

Madanna Pant, 29; minister of Golconda, 24.
Madansing, 122.
Madhavrao, 81.
Madras, surrenders to the French, 288.
Madura, 275.
Mahableshwar, 48.
Mahad, 11.
Mahadji, 220.
Mahadji Gadadhar, foreign minister, 76.
Mahadji Pansambal, 76.
Mahadji Purandare, pays Balaji's debts, 272.
Maharashtra, 1; social customs in, 131.
Mahi, river, 178.
Mahim, 245, 252; Marathas capture, 256.
Mahomed Ali, son of Anvar-ud-din, 291.
Mahomed Amir Khan, 172.
Mahomed Azim, 36.
Mahomed Beg Khan, 110.
Mahomed Khan Bangash, 214; defeated by Bajirao, 216.
Mahomed Murad, 166.
Mahomed Shah, 169; crowned at Delhi, 168; death, 286.
Mahomed Sharif, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, 290.
Mahomed Sidik, 47.
Maine, Captain, 208.
Malad, 251.
Malegaon, 148.
Malharrao Holkar, 185, 213; defeats Daya Bahadur, 214; defeated by Sadat Khan, 222.
Malik Tokan, 245.
Malkapur, 105.
Maloji Pawar, 193.
Mal Savant, 3.
Malwa, 185.
Malwan, 131.
Manaji Angre, 242; attacked by Sambhaji, 259.
Mangalvedhe, 311
Mankoji Suryavanshi, 134.
Manora, 252.
Man, river, 108.
Mansing More, 148; joins Shahu, 125.
Manucci, 15.
Maphuz Khan, defeated by Paradis, 288.
Marathas, leaders at Raygad, 59; raise siege of Jinji, 83; army at Godaveri Valley, 97; retake Satara and Parali, 114; attack Portuguese, 252; attack Bandra, 254; repulse Portuguese attack, 255; capture Mahim, 256; capture Bassein, 258; besiege Goa, 259; peace with English, 261; treaty with Safdar Ali, 275.
Margoa, surrenders, 16.
Marol, 251.
Martin François, 276.
Masaud Khan, regent of Bijapur, 24.
Mascarenhas, Maria, wife of Akbar, 13.
Mastani, 264.
Masulipatam, 46.
Masur, 182.
Mathura, 20.
Matthews, Commodore, 208.
Mhaloji Ghorpade, 45.
Midnapur, 282.
Miraj, 118, 200; fall of, 72; recaptured, 79; Shahu attacks, 262; captured by Shahu, 263.
Mir Habib, 282.

Mir Haidar, 172.
Mir Hussein Khan, 223.
Mir Moghul, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, 290.
Mirza Mahomed, 281.
Moghul, fleet at Vingorla, 18; occupy Punamali and Wandewash, 47; pursue Marathas to Singhad, 103; capture Parali, renamed Nauroz Tara, 107; defeated at Narbada, 111; retreat, 117.
Mohkam Sing, Raja, 163.
Moizuddin, ascends throne, title Jehandar Shah, 159.
Moro Pingle, 3, 5.
Mortiz Ali, 287.
Muazuddin, 34; arrested, 36.
Mubariz Khan, 174.
Mudhoji Bhosle, son of Raghuji Bhosle, 296.
Mudhol, 45.
Munji Shevgaon, treaty, 189, 205.
Murarirao Ghorpade, 276.
Murshid Kuli Khan, 281.
Murshidabad, 281.
Murtaza Nizam Shah, 60.
Muscat, 33.
Mustapha Khan, 284.
Muzaffir Jang, nawab of the Deccan, 292; death, 293.
Muzaffir Khan, 220.
Mysore, invaded, 46.

N

Nadir Shah, 232; origin of, 233; plunders Delhi, 234; letter to Bajirao, 236; death, 285.
Nagoji Mane, 88; murders Santaji Ghorpade, 93.
Nagpur, 283.
Najib-ud-Daulat, 220.
Nandalal Mandloi Chaudhari, 213.
Nandarbar, 98, 110, 170.
Nangargaon, 56.
Narbada, river, 192.
Naro Mukund, 80.
Naropant Joshi,, 250.
Naro Shankar, 144; imprisoned by Damaji Thorat, 156.
Nasik, 17.
Nasir Jang, 265; son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, 290; death, 293.
Nasrat Jang, 82.
Nauroz Tara, Parali renamed, 107.
Nemaji Sindia, 125, 142, 162; Governor of Khandesh, 97; captures Nandarbar 98; at Seronj, 110.
Nerul, river, 19.
Netoji Palker, 43.
Nilo Ballal Chitnis, 61.
Nilo Moro Pingle, appointed prime minister, 75.
Nilo Pingle, 43, 72.
Nira, river, 144.
Niraji Ravaji, 60; chief justice, 76.
Nizam Ali, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, 290.
Nizam-ul-Mulk 36, 151; governor of Malwa, 167; plans against Sayads, 169; captures Asirgarh, Burhanpur, Khandesh, 170; vazir, 173; defeats Mubariz Khan, 174; opposes Shahu, 187; defeated, 189; treaty with Bajirao, 212; at Delhi, 230; defeated by Bajirao, 232; death, 286-290; sons of, 290.

P

Pachad, 2.
Paithan, 103.
Palar, river, 46, 83.
Paligad, 8.
Palkhed, battle of, 189.
Pandharpur, 91.
Pangaon, 306.
Panhala, 1, 48; Sambhaji occupies, 2; Santaji Ghorpade at, 68; captured, 69; Shivaji crowned, 100; captured by Aurangzib, 108; captured by Shahu, 131; surrenders to Tarabai, 141; Sambhaji crowned 151; Sambhaji at, 197.
Parad, 125.
Paradis, M., defeats Maphuz Khan, 288; death, 289.
Parali, 64, 99, 113.
Parashu Rama, legend, 145.
Parashuram son of Krishnaji, 81.
Parashuram Trimbak, 109, 124; retakes Vishalgad, 94; imprisoned by Shahu, 126; released, 152; death, 179.
Parsoji Bhosle, governor of Berar, 97; joins Shahu, 124.
Parvati, 81.
Parvatibai, wife of Sadashivrao, 309.
Patankar, 79, 96.
Patas, 143.
Patdi, 22.
Pathare Prabhus, 251.
Pawar, 79, 96.

Pawar, river, 291.
Peacock, Captain, 205.
Pem Naik, 112.
Pennar, river, 46.
Pereira, Caetano de Souza, 257.
Peshawar, 121; taken by Ahmad Shah, 285.
Petit, Mr., 202.
Phaltan, 69.
Phond Savant, 141.
Phonda, fort, 14.
Pilaji Gaikvad, 176, 190, 213, 218; death, 219.
Pilaji Jadav, 149.
Pilaji Shirke, 59.
Pingles, genealogical tree of the, 158.
Piraji, 149.
Pirya Naik, 112; abandons Wakinkera, 115.
Pitt, Mr., 202.
Pondicherry, its beginning, 276; Raghuji Bhosle at, 277; English attack, 289.
Poona, taken by Dhanaji Jadav, 122; Bajirao at, 264; Pant Sachiv Chimnaji imprisoned at, 310.
Portuguese, assist the English, 209; attack Kolaba, 210; attack Bahadur Shah, 244; assist Bahadur Shah, 245; defeated by Bajirao, 249; attacked by Marathas, 252; commence offensive, 254; attack fails, 255; Stephen Law assists, 257; leave Bassein, 258.
Pralhad Niraji, son of Niraji Ravaji, 60; plans campaign, 62; leaves Vishalgad, 73; death, 91.
Pratapgad, 64.
Pratapsing, Raja of Tanjore, 273.
Prayagji Anant Phanse, 99.
Punamali, 46, 47.
Purandar, 78; Balaji Vishvanath flees to, 149.
Purandar, fort, 156.
Putalibai, 301.

R

Rachol, 16,
Rachol, fortress, 256.
Radhabai Barve, wife of Shripatrao, 181, 295.
Rafiud Daulat, 168.
Rafiud Dayat, 168.
Raghuji Bhosle, 271; terms to M. Dumas, 277; leaves Pondicherry, 280; flees to Nagpur, 283; defeated at Cutwa, 285; at Satara, 308.
Raghuji Gaikvad, 284.
Raghunath, son of Bajirao, 266.
Raghunathpant Hanmante, 42; death, 43.
Raghunathrao, brother of Balaji, 310.
Rahimapur, 147.
Rahman Baksh, Wakinkera renamed, 116.
Raichur, 112.
Rajapur, 203.
Rajaram, 1; regent, 62; wives, 63; at Pratapgad, Parali, 64, leaves Vishalgad, 72; at Bangalore, 73; at Jinji, 74; King, 75; escapes from Jinji, 88; at Vishalgad, 89; at Godaveri Valley, 97; at Sinhgad, 103; sons and daughters, 105.
Rajasbai, Rajaram's wife, 64, 78, 151, 196; imprisoned, 106.
Rajasbai, Shahu's daughter, 294.
Rajgad, 80, 144.
Rajkot, 154.
Rajmachi, fort, 154, 249.
Rajmahal, 282.
Rakhmabai, wife of Chimnaji Appa 191, 270.
Ramaji Mahadev 147.
Ramchandra, son of Bajirao, 266.
Ramchandra Nilkanth Bavdekar, 124; finance minister, 60; genealogical tree, 66; viceroy of Maharashtra, 76; reappointed finance minister, 96; president of the council, 104.
Ramchandra Raghunath, 251.
Ramdas, 4, 218.
Rameshwaram, 63.
Ramoji Shirke, 88.
Ramraja, Tarabai's grandson, 299; succeeds Shahu, 301; at Satara, 307; wives of, 308; appoints council of state, 312; at Satara, 313; attends feast of Champasashthi, 315; death, 316.
Ramrao Jivaji, 313.
Ramsej, fort, 19, 44.
Rangna, 131.
Ranoji Mohite, 312.
Ranoji Sindia, 185; family history, 186.
Rao Rambha Nimbalkar, 170.
Ratapur, 33.
Ratnagiri, 49
Raval, fort, 242.

Raygad, 49; Maratha leaders at, 59; captured by Aurangzib, 69; Bajirao retakes, 242.
Readish, Captain, 208.
Revandanda, 248.
Rohida, 94.
Rohilkhand, 217.
Rohulla Khan, 86.
Roshan Akhtar, Emperor Mahomed Shah, 168
Ruhulla Khan, 37, 39, 40.
Rupaji Bhosle, 77.
Rustum Ali Khan, 176, 178.
Rustum Rao, 28.

S

Sabais, 254.
Sadashivrao, son of Chimnaji Appa, 192, 270, 307, 309; captures Sangola, 312.
Sadat Allah Khan, nawab of Carnatic 273.
Sadat Khan, 35, 222.
Safdar Ali, 274; death, 287.
Safdar Jang, 231, 286.
Sagar, fort, 112, 217.
Sagargad, 154, 243.
Sagunabai, Ramraja's wife, 308.
Sagunabai, Shahu's wife, 141, 150, 294, 295.
Sahu, Shivaji's nickname, 71.
Sahyadris, 49.
Saint David, fort, 289.
Saint Thome, 276, 288.
Sajjansing, 124.
Sakhargad, 81.
Sakhu, 294.
Sakwarbai, Shahu's wife, 294; a sati, 301.
Salabat Jang, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, 290; nawab of the Deccan, 293.
Salher, 17; 44.
Salsette, 246.
Sambhaji, 1, 2, 8, 43, 44, 56; enters Raygad, 3; accession, 4; attacks Khandesh, 6; at Janjira, 10; Akbar's letters to, 12; at Chaul, 14; takes Santo Estavao, 16; raises siege of Goa, 17; in Bijapur, 47; at Sangameshwar, 49; captured, 51; brought to Akluj 54; death, 57; poems, 58; family, 59; letter to Krishnaji Dada Deshpande, 66.
Sambhaji of Kolhapur, 296.
Sambhaji, Shahu's son, 294.
Sambhaji, son of Rajaram, 78, 105, 194; imprisoned, 106; crowned at Panhala 151; aids Nizam-ul-Mulk, 188; sent to Panhala, 189; defeated at Warna, 196; meets Shahu at Karhad, 197.
Sambhaji, son of Kanhoji Angre, 248; attacks Manaji, 259; escapes to Suvarnadurg, 260.
Sandomil, Count of, 247, 256.
Sangam, 192.
Sangameshwar, 49.
Sangola, 311; captured by Sadashivrao, 312.
Sangpal, original name of Angres, 94.
Santaji Bhosle, 167.
Santaji Ghorpade, 45, 47, 76; at Raygad, 60; appointed commander-in-chief, 68; leaves Vishalgad, 72; recaptures Wai and Miraj, 79; at Dudheri, 86; death, 92; Rajaram's complicity in death of, 104.
Santaji Jadav, 67.
Santo Estavao, 16.
Sarafraz Khan, son of Shujah-ud-daulat, 282.
Sarangpur, 214.
Sarbarah Khan, 37.
Sarbuland Khan, 166, 176, 189, 200; governor of Kabul, 167; defeats Marathas, 179; treaty with Shahu, 190; Governor of Allahabad, 217.
Sardesais, 49.
Sarfuddin Ali Khan, 163.
Sarja Khan, 48.
Sarphoji, 187.
Sarza Khind, 99.
Sarze Khan, 97.
Sasvad, 156.
Sat Sidi, 237, 238; attacks Sagargad, 243; death, 244.
Satara, 99, 113; Rajaram at, 95; surrenders, 101; name changed to Azim Tara, 102; besieged by Shahu 126; Shahu and Kanhoji Angre at, 157; seized by Balaji, 301; Ramraja crowned at, 307; Tarabai at, 311.
Saturday Palace, 268.
Savai Baburao, 194.
Savai Jaysing, Raja of Jaipur, 213, 220.
Savantvadi, Shah Alam at, 18.
Savarnadurg, 94.
Savitrabai, wife of Shahu, 125.
Sayad Abdullah Khan, 166.

Sayad, brothers, defeat Farukhsir, 167.
Sayad, Mahomed Gisu, 34.
Sekhoji Angre, 240; captures English ship, 242; death, 243.
Shah Alam, 17, at Savantvadi, 18; at Vingorla, 19; retreats to Ahmadnagar, 20; sent against Abu Hussein, 27; arrested, 36; emperor, 122; death, 159.
Shahabuddin Khan, 22.
Shahaji, 45; fable, 56.
Shah Hussein, 33.
Shah Kuli, 29.
Shahr Banu, wife of Azam Shah, 24.
Shah Sulaiman, King of Persia, 33.
Shahu, kills Suryaji Pisal, 70, 164, 184; release refused, 92; released, 121; his return, 123; appeals for support, 124; at Ahmadnagar, 125; crowned at Satara, 126; at Parlai, 128; at Chandan Wandan, 131; captures Panhala and Vishalgad, 131; marries Sagunabai and Sakwarbai, 141; at Jejuri, 156; celebrates victories, 157; gives Fort Lohgad to Balaji Vishwanath, 169; treaty with Sarbuland Khan, 190; at Umbrej, 191; regret at Trimbakrao's death, 193; reconciliation with Khanderao's family, 194; attempted assassination by Udaji, 195; and Sambhaji at Karhad, 197; receives Capt. Gordon, 260; attacks Miraj, 262; at Chaphal, 263; assists Pratapsing, 273; liberates Chanda Sahib, 290; family, 294; adopts Mudhoji Bhosle, 297; death, 300.
Shaik Nizam, Haiderabadi, 50; captures Sambhaji and Kalusha, 51; returns, to Aklaj, 55.
Shambhusing, 60, 307.
Shamjirao Pinde, 76.
Shamsher Bahadur, son of Mastani, 267.
Shankarji Mahadik, 294.
Shankar Malhar Nargundhar, 76, 163; death, 172.
Shankar Narayan Gandekar, 114, 124; recaptures Rajgad, 80; collapse of, 143; death 144.
Sheikh Mira, 127, 313.
Shendre, 99.
Sher Shah, 281.
Shirala, 294.
Shirkes, massacre of, 9; genealogical tree, 90.
Shivajaya, 275.
Shivaji, 1.
Shivaji, son of Sambhaji, 59; King, 62; captured, 69.
Shivaji, son of Rajaram, 105; crowned, 106; imprisoned by Rajasbai, 151.
Shivlinga, 303.
Sholapur district, 49.
Shrikaracharya Kalgavkar, 76.
Shripatrao, son of Parashuram Trimbak, 153, 183, 295.
Shrivardhan, 146, 155.
Shujaat Khan, 176.
Shujah-ud-Daulat, 281.
Sidi Masud, 241.
Sidi Misri, 11.
Sidi Rahyan, 242.
Sidi Rasul Yakat Khan, 240.
Sidis, Marathas attack, 10; driven from Shrivardhan, 155.
Sidoji Gujar, 68, 94.
Sikandar Shah, 24, 29, 31: letter to Aurangzib, 32.
Silveira, Antonio de, 245.
Silveira, Diego de, 245.
Sinhgad, 68, 78, 103, 109; Tarabai at, 309; captured by Balaji, 311.
Sirhind, 286.
Sirigaon, 252.
Sironj, 110, 221; Nizam-ul-Mulk at, 170.
Somaji Banki, 2.
Sonda, 73.
Songadh, 220.
South Guzerat, 79.
Soyarabai, 1; death, 3.
Soyarabai, daughter of Rajaram, 105.
Soyarabai, wife of Balaji Nimbalkar of Phaltan, 63.
Subhanji Kharate, 154.
Supa, 143, 304.
Surat, 9, 20.
Suryaji Kank, 2,
Suryaji Pisal, 70.
Sutlej, 286.
Suvarnadurg, 248, 249.

T

Talikot, battle of, 46.
Talode, 185.
Tambe, 251.
Tanjore, state of, 45, 86, 123.
Tarabai, wife of Rajaram, 63, 78; regent, 106; goes to Malwan, 141; flees to Rangna, 141; captures Panhala

141; imprisoned by Rajasbai, 151; prisoner, 196; at Satara, 197; reveals birth of Shivaji's son Ramraja 298; at Sinhgad, 309; at Poona, at Satara fort, 310; keeps Ramraja captive, 316.
Tarapur, fort, 252.
Tathavda, 48.
Taylor, pirate, 208.
Thal, 214, 242.
Thana, renamed, Fatehsing Buruj, 253.
Thevenapattam, 203.
Thornburn, Captain, 203.
Tikona, fort, 311.
Timaji Hanmante, 96.
Tivim, 16.
Torna, 94, 109.
Trichinopoli, 275.
Trimbak Sadashiv Purandare, 314.
Trimbakrao, son of Khanderao Dabhade, 182; aids the Nizam, 190; death, 193.
Trimbakrao, son of Yashwantrao Dabhade, 312.
Tuglakabad, 223.
Tukabai, Ramraja's wife, 308.
Tukoji Angre, 94.
Tulaji Angre, 300, 313.
Tulaji Shitole, 151.
Tulapur, 56.
Tuljapur, 299.
Tung, fort, 311.

U

Udaipur, Rana of, 8.
Udaji Chavan, 263; attempts to assassinate Shahu, 195; defeated at Warna, 196; death, 200.
Udaji Padval, 154.
Udaji Pawar, 185, 213; history of family, 187.
Ujjain, 108.
Ulhas, river, 245.
Umabai, widow of Khanderao Dabhade, 194.
Umabai, wife of Sadashivrao, 309.
Umaji Pant, 43.
Umbraj, 263.
Upton, Captain, 208.

V

Vandra, 251.
Varuna, river, 49.
Vasai, 245.
Vasantgad, 98; captured by Shahu, 131.
Velas, 147.
Vellore, 89.
Vesava, fort, 251.
Vijayanagar, 244.
Vimala, legend, 245.
Vincent, Mr., 202.
Vingorla, 18.
Virubai, 122, 150.
Visaji, son of Balaji Vishvanath, 181.
Visaji Prabhu, 78.
Vishalgad, 49, 69, 94; captured by Aurangzib 109; surrenders to Shahu, 131.
Vishvasrao, son of Balaji, 309.
Vithalrao Anandrao the Sumant, 313.
Vithoji Chavan, 67.
Viziadurg, 94, 205, 210.
Vyankatrao Ghorpade or Joshi, 181, 196, 250; invades Goa, 256.
Vyankoji, 44.
Vyasrao, 149.

W

Wadgaon, 145.
Waduth, 306.
Wai, 48, 79.
Waite, Sir Nicholas, 131.
Wakinkera, 112; captured by Moghuls, 116.
Wandewash, 47, 85.
Ward, Mr. C., 203.
Wardhangad, 108.
Warna, river, 145.
Warna, treaty of, 201.
Wasota, 107, 114.
William of Nassau, 63.

X

Xavier, Francis, 16.

Y

Yakub Khan, 240.
Yakut Khan, 11.
Yamaji Shivdev, 299, 311.
Yashwantrao, brother of Trimbakrao, Dabhade, 194, 312.
Yashwantrao Mahadev Potnis, 240.
Yesaji, 294.

Yeshpatil Dabhade, 60.
Yesubai, wife of Sambhaji, 59; captured, 69.
Yeswantgad, 78.
Yuvateshwar, 100.

Z

Zahra, 160.
Zinatunnissa, daughter of Aurangzib, 70.
Zulfikar Beg, 163.
Zulfikar Khan, Itikad Khan's title, 71; before Jinji, 79; superseded, 82; at Tanjore, 86; captures Jinji, 89; at Wakinkera, 115; at Ahmadnagar, 118; death of, 161.

00041578

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 27 November, 2018